

## ❖ HEBRAICA. ❖

VOL. VI.

JULY, 1890.

No. 4.

### THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION.\*† IV.—HISTORICAL MATTER OF EXODUS 13-DEUTERONOMY 34.‡

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM R. HARPER, PH. D.,

Yale University.

#### XIX. ANALYSIS OF EXODUS 13:1-18:27.

[*Subjects* :—(1) Consecration of the First-born; (2) Passage of the Red Sea; (3) Moses' Song; (4) Marah, its water sweetened; (5) Manna; (6) Massah and Meribah; (7) Battle with Amalek; (8) Jethro's visit and advice.]

#### A. The Element of P.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

13:1,2,20 (so Well., Kitt.; Jül., 1 sq. = P<sup>3</sup>; Kuen., 1 sq. = D<sup>2</sup>; 20 = rather E); 14:1-4,8,9 partly [exc. אַחֲרֵיהֶם . . . וַיִּרְדּוּ (= JE) and כָּל סוֹם . . . וַחֲלִילוֹ (= R)], 15-18 [exc. מִה תִּצְעַק אֵלַי in v. 15, and הָרֶם אֶת מִטְךָ ו in 16 (= E)], 21ac,22sq.,26, first six words of 27,28a,29 [exc. רַכֵּב וּפְרָשִׁים, wherever they occur (= R)] (so practically Kuen., adding 10 in part, and 28b; Well., 1 sq.,4b,8b,9sq. in part, 15 partly, 28(?); Jül., 1 sq.,3(?),4,8 sq.,15,17 sq., 23; Kitt., like Dill., but adding 10b and 21b, and excepting 21c and 22a, [29 = gloss]; 15:27(?) [perhaps E(?)] (so Kuen.; Kitt. has no doubt about it; Well., 15:27 = J or E; Jül. = J); 16:1-3\*,6 sq.\*,8-14,15b-18,22-24,31-34,35\*. [This chapter is entirely worked over by R, and removed from its proper position.]

\* THE ALLEGED FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS URGED IN FAVOR OF THE PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS PRESENTED AND CRITICISED BY *Professors Harper* (of Yale) and *Green* (of Princeton).

† The reply of Professor Green to the material presented under Genesis 37:1-Exodus 12 (published in October (1889) HEBRAICA) will appear in the October (1890) HEBRAICA.

‡ In the work of collecting and classifying the facts of the analysis, I desire to acknowledge my very great indebtedness to the assistance rendered me in this, as in the two preceding articles, by Mr. Samuel Weyler, New Haven, Conn.

(To this all critics agree.) The P<sup>2</sup> element, as here given, is from Dill., III., p. 634; in II., p. 165, slightly different.] (Well., 1-3,9-13a,16b-18 (to the 'āthnāh), 22-26,31-35a; Jül., 1-3,4 sq.(?),9-12,8\*,13 sq.,16-19,20(?),21-26,27(?),31,35 (28-30 = R<sup>d</sup>; rest of ch. 16 = R); Kuen., 1 partly, 2 sq.,11 sq.\*,9 sq.\*,6 sq.\* (8 = P<sup>3</sup>),13-21 (exc. 15a),35 in part (1 partly, 4 sq.,22-34, and 36 = P<sup>3</sup> and R); Kitt., 1-3,9-13, 14 sq. (in part at least), 16b-18a,22-26,31-35a); 17:1a (so Well. and Jül.; Kitt., 1ab<sup>s</sup>; Kuen., 1a(?)).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Yahweh commands Moses to consecrate to him all the first-born of man and cattle.—Proceeding from Succoth, the Israelites encamp in Etham; but they are soon ordered to go back to Pi-hahiroth, in order that Pharaoh may think that they have lost their way in the wilderness, and so pursue them—to his own destruction. Pharaoh, hardened by Yahweh, *does* pursue. Moses is instructed to divide the waters of the Red Sea, by the touch of his hand, and thus effect a passage on dry land for the children of Israel. Pharaoh is induced by Yahweh to follow; then, Moses, by another motion of the hand, reunites the waters, and the entire Egyptian host perishes. Having made a short stop at Elim, an oasis, the 'entire congregation' arrives in the Wilderness of Sin, where they complain because of lack of food. 'Yahweh's glory' appears in a cloud, and announces that, in answer to the people's demands, flesh will be provided in the evening, and bread in the morning; the latter comes as manna—just an omer for each person. But on Friday, a double portion is obtained, that they may have no work to do on the Sabbath.—Aaron is instructed to lay by an omer of manna as a memorial for future generations.—The children of Israel then proceed to Rephidim."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (13:1; 14:1,4,8,15,18,26; 16:3,6,8 three times, 9,10,11,12,15,16,23,32,33,34; 17:1).

(2) קדש (13:2).

(3) עשה כן (14:4; 16:17).

(4) ואני הנני (14:17).

(5) ערת בני"י (16:1,2,9,10; 17:1).

(6) סביב (16:13).

(7) אכלה (16:15).

(8) כשמרת (16:23,32,33,34).

(9) דלת (16:32,33).

(10) נתן (= שים) (16:33).

(11) חוק את לב (14:4,8,17).

(12) בין הערבים (16:12).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) על הים [where JE use הים שפת הים] (14: 2,9,16,21,26,27).

(2) כבר (in Niph'al) (14:4,17,18): cf. Lev. 10: 3 (also in *later* prophets, as Ezek. 39:13; Hag. 1:8; Isa. 49:5).

(3) נכח (14:2): cf. 26:35; 40:24; Num. 19:4.

(4) פֶּכֶד יהוה (= Yahweh's person) (16:7,10): cf. 24:16,17; 40:34,35; Lev. 9:6,23; Num. 14:10, 21; 16:19; 17:7.

(5) גִּלְגָּלֶת (16:16): cf. 38:26; Num. 1:2,18,20; 3:47.

(6) עומר (16:16,18,22,32,33): cf. Lev. 23:10; 11: 12,15.

(7) ערף (16:18,23): cf. 26:12 twice, 13; Lev. 25: 27; Num. 3:46,48,49.

(8) נשׂא הערה (16:22): cf. Num. 4:34; 16:2; 31:13; 32:2.

(9) שבתון (16:23): cf. 31:15; 35:2; Lev. 16:31; 23:3,24,32,39 *bis*; 25:4,5.



(10) עֲרֵת (= the Law) (16:34): cf. 25:16,21,22;  
26:33,34; 27:21; 30:6 bis, 26,36; 31:7,18; 34:29;  
38:21; 39:35; 40:3,5,20,21; Lev. 16:13; 24:3;  
Num. 1:50,53 bis; 4:5; 7:89; 9:15; 10:11; 17:  
19,22,23,25; 18:2; Josh. 4:16.

(11) מִסְעָה (17:1): cf. 40:36,38; Num. 10:2,6,12,  
28; 33:1,2 twice.

3) Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

(1) צִנְעָנִית (16:33).

(2) צִפְיָחִית (16:31).

[These are due, probably, to exactness of statement.]

*Remark.*—The greater number of these new words strictly belong to P's legal vocabulary.

#### 4. STYLE OF P.

It is marked by

1) *Formulas*: (1) וַיִּדְבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר (13:1; 14:1; 16:11) found scores of times in the P code; (2) וַיִּסְעוּ...וַיַּחֲנוּ (13:20; 17:1); cf. Num. 33, where this expression occurs over forty times; (3) דָּבַר אֶל בְּנֵי (14:2,15), very frequent in the code; (4) כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה (14:4,18; 16:12), a standard phrase.

2) *Exactness of statement*: (1) Etham "at the end of the desert" (13:20); (2) Pi-hahiroth was "between Migdol and the sea, before Baal-Zephon" (14:2); (3) the Wilderness of Sin "which is between Elim and Sinai" (16:1); (4) they gathered twice as much bread, "two omers for each one" (16:22).

3) *Numbers and Dates*: (1) "Twelve springs of water, and seventy palm trees" (15:27); (2) "on the 15th day of the 2d month" (16:1); (3) "the omer was a tenth of an ephah" (16:36).

4) *Repetition*: (1) 13:2b might be omitted; (2) last clause of 14:2 is superfluous; (3) 14:9b is unnecessary, after the minute description of v. 2; (4) 14:29 is practically the same as v. 22; (5) 16:6 sq. are summed up and elaborated in v. 8, and form a clumsy repetition; (6) the last six words in 16:16 are a legal repetition; (7) 16:18b is unnecessary; (8) 16:32a is practically repeated in v. 33.

#### 5. MATERIAL.

P, as compared with the prophets, presents the following:

1) *Duplicates*: (1) Consecration of first-born (P = 13:2; J = 13:12-15); (2) God leads the people to the sea (E = 13:17 sq.; P = 14:1-3); (3) the Egyptians pursue (P = 14:4,8 sq.; JE = 14:5-7); (4) there is evidently more than one account of the passage of the Red Sea, and of the destruction of the Egyptians, in 14:15-31, [for so much repetition could not possibly be charged to one writer, even if he were P; nor can we account for the incongruities (see *differences*, below) on the hypothesis of a single authorship]; (5) heavenly food is promised (J = 16:4; P = 16:6-8,12); (6) instruction concerning the gathering of the manna (J = 16:4 sq.; P = 16:16); (7) manna on the Sabbath (P = 16:22 sq.; J = 16:25-30); (8) manna is named twice (J = 16:15; P = 16:31).

2) *Differences*. The double accounts become clearer when we find that they differ in important particulars: (1) the law about the first-born cannot be dis-

cussed until we are ready to consider the various codes, for other passages must be taken into consideration; (2) the *reason* for leading the people to the Red Sea is, according to E, "for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt" (13:17); according to P, in order to deceive Pharaoh, that he might think the Israelites had lost their way (14:3); (3) the king of Egypt pursues, because "Yahweh hardens his heart" (P = 14,4,8), but JE says, because "he learned that the people were fled" (14:5); (4) in the passage of the Red Sea, we notice (a) that the sea is made dry, according to P, by Moses stretching forth his hand and dividing the waters (14:16); according to J, by a terrible gale blowing all night (14:21); (b) that the Egyptians enter the sea, according to P, because Yahweh hardened their hearts to pursue Israel (14:17,23); according to the *prophets*, because they were thrown into confusion (14:24 sq.); (5) according to J, the people received nothing but manna (16:4); but P gives them manna only in the morning, and *flesh* in the evening, 16:8,12 sq.\*; (6) in J, the double portion on Friday is a part of the *original* arrangement (16:5); while in P, the gatherers are *surprised* to receive two omers on the sixth day (16:22); (7) P speaks of the Sabbath as an *old* institution (16:23), having in mind Gen. 2:2 sq.; but, according to J, Moses institutes it for the first time, and some of the people do not accept his authoritative statement concerning it (16:25-30).

3. *Incongruities.* Granting the bare possibility of (a) a double purpose in God's leading the people to the sea, of (b) a *double* motive for Pharaoh's pursuit, and supposing (c) that God might wish to supplement Moses' weak hand by a mighty wind, and (d) that Moses did not tell the people of the double portion on Friday, we nevertheless find it difficult to conceive (1) of an army in pursuit and confusion at the same time; (2) how Moses could promise flesh and bread, when God promised only the latter (16:4,8), and, at a later time, punished severely the demand for meat (Num. 11:18-20,33). Then (3) would *one* author make a statement about the consecration of the first-born in 13:2, talk about something else in the same paragraph (vs. 3-10), and afterwards begin anew with the first-born (vs. 11-15(?)), or (4) would he, after relating that "the people said one to another, It is manna" (16:15), and having told practically all about the manna, add the statement, "And the house of Israel called its name manna" (16:31a)? (5) 16:36 has no connection where it stands; its proper place is probably after v. 16; (6) 17:1, if it be connected with the following verse, locates *Meribah* at *Rephidim*; but Num. 20:1; 27:14 make *Kadesh* the place.

---

\* P has really combined two distinct events in one: the Prophets tell us (Num. 11:4-6 (before which passage J's account of the manna stood originally), 18-20, and 31-34), that *after* the people became *tired* of the manna, they began to cry for meat, and this was given, not indeed to satisfy, but to destroy them. It is, however, manifestly difficult for P to enter into such details; because (a) it would take too much space (and he is anxious to get to his great work, the *code*); (b) it would make the people *unnecessarily* rebellious (he is mainly interested in recording the futile and impious protestations of the laity against the priesthood, cf. Numbers, chs. 16 sq.); (c) it would give a representation of Yahweh which would be inconsistent with P's theology.



## 6. THEOLOGY.

1) God's commands are *formal*: (1) He ordered Israel to encamp at the sea, "and they did so" (14:1-4); (2) Moses is ordered to stretch out his hand and divide the sea, and he does it (14:15,16,21a); (3) he is then ordered to unite the water by stretching forth his hand, and it is done (14:26 sq.); (4) God commands an omer-ful of manna to be laid by, and Aaron does, "according as Yahweh commanded Moses" (16:32-34).

2) The sea is divided by a *fiat* of the Almighty (cf. J, Yahweh makes use of a strong east wind). Note also how complete the miracle is: (1) the sea is not merely parted, but the passage is turned into dry-land (יִבְשָׁה, 14:22,29); (2) the waters stood as a wall on both sides; (3) as soon as the Egyptians enter, Moses by a motion of the hand closes the sea.

3) Aaron is made prominent: (1) "the congregation murmurs against Moses and Aaron" (16:2), and both reply (16:6) (cf. J (15:24 sq.; 17:2) where Moses alone is looked upon as leader); (2) Moses tells Aaron to bring the congregation into the presence of Yahweh (16:9 sq.); (3) it is Aaron who lays by the manna before the עֶרְתָּ (16:33 sq.).

4) God's glory appears in a cloud (cf. Lev. 16:2, and 13), to show the unapproachableness of the Deity.

## B. Element of J.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

13:3-16,21 sq.\* (Well., 3-16 = R<sup>d</sup> or P<sup>3</sup>; so Kuen. and Jül. [Kuen. assigns also 21 sq. to E]; Kitt., 3-6 = J or R<sup>d</sup>); 14:5-7 in part, 9 partly, 10-14,19b,20 in part, 21b,24a,25b,27 in part, 30 sq. (Well., 5 sq., מֵאֵד . . . וְהָנָה מִצְרַיִם in 10,11-14,19b,20 [reading וְיָהִי חֵשֶׁךְ וַיֹּאֲרֶה עָנָן אֶת הָאֵלֹהִים, 21 [exc. first and last clauses], 24 sq.,27 [exc. first clause], 30 sq.; Jül., 5 sq.,10 [to מֵאֵד], 11 sq.(?),13 sq., 19b-21a,24 sq.,27 [from וַיֵּשֶׁב], 28b,30 sq.; Kuen., like Dill. and Jül., exc. 19 sq. = E; Kitt., 5 sq.,9a [to אַחֲרֵיהֶם], 10 [to מֵאֵד], 11-14,19b-21a,24 sq.,27a,2b, 30 sq.); 16:3 partly, 4 sq.,15a,19 sq. in part, 21,25-30,35a [all, however, removed from before Num. 11, and worked over by R or R<sup>d</sup>] (Jül. and Kuen., no trace of J or E in 16 [Jül. gives the following verses in 15 to J: 20 sq. (of which 1-18 is an elaboration, incorporated by R<sup>d</sup>), then 22-25a,27 (19 = R, 25b sq. = R<sup>d</sup>)] ; Well., 16:4 sq. . . . 13b-16a,18 partly, 19-21,27-30,35b [1-3,9-13a,16b-18a,22-26,31-35a = P<sup>2</sup>; all the rest = R]; Kitt., ch. 16 belongs before Num. 11:4; and 4 sq.,14-16, 18b-21,27-30(?),35b = J); 17:2,7 (Well., 1b-7 in part, (15 sq.(?)); Jül., 3 sq., קָח אֶתֶּךָ מִזֶּמֶן יִשְׂרָאֵל in 5a, וְהִלַּכְתָּ in 5b, הַצֹּר . . . הַנִּנִּי in 6a,6b,8-13,15,16a [reading נֶס (= standard) for כֶּסֶם] [14,16b = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen., "foreign element" in 2-7 = J(?); Kitt., 1b,2, עָבַר לִפְנֵי הָעָם in 5, הַצֹּר . . . הַנִּנִּי in 6, and 7 = J; vs. 8-16 = E); 18 has a few doubtful traces, which are, however, neglected in III., p. 624.

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Moses commands unleavened, and prohibits leavened, bread to be eaten for seven days in the month of Abib, to commemorate the hasty exodus; while all first-born males are to be consecrated in commemoration of the last plague in Egypt.—Yahweh leads the people by a cloud, in the daytime, and by a pillar of fire in the night.—The king of Egypt, on learning that the people have run away, pursues them with an army. At his approach, the children of Israel are frightened, and cry to Yahweh. They also blame Moses for bringing them into the wilderness—to die. But he assures them that they see the Egyptians for the last time: 'Yahweh will fight for you!' Thereupon the cloudy pillar takes its station between the hostile forces. In the night a strong gale sweeps over the sea, making it dry. At dawn, Yahweh appears in a pillar of fire and cloud, and the Egyptians, perceiving his presence, flee into the receding sea, where Yahweh destroys them. The signal deliverance inspires Israel with reverence for Yahweh, and with trust in him and Moses.—[\*Food is provided for the hungry nation from heaven daily, except on Friday, when they receive a double portion. They call the heavenly bread manna. They are ordered not to leave any over night; some disobey, and it spoils. They gather it every day, except on the Sabbath, which Yahweh has given them for rest; hence, he provides double on Friday; this keeps well for the Sabbath. They have this manna for forty years.]—Now, the people quarrel with Moses, demanding water to drink. Moses rebukes them as tempting Yahweh, hence the place is named *Massah* and *Meribah*."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (13:3,5,6,8,9 *bis*, 11,12 *bis*, 14,15 *bis*, 16,21; 14:10, 13, 14, 21, 24, 25, 30, 31 *bis*; 16:4,25,28,29; 17:2, 7 *bis*: cf. also the following [given in the analysis to E(?)]: 15:1,3 *bis*, 6 *bis*, 11, 16, 17, 18, 21, 25 *bis*, 26 *bis*; 17:4,5,14,15,16 *bis*; 18:1,8 *bis*, 9,10,11).

(2) בעבור (13:8).

(3) יר חוקה (13:9).

(4) למען (13:9; 16:4,32).

(5) מה-זאת (13:14; 14:5,11).

(6) קשה (*as verb*) (13:15).

(7) הרג (13:15).

(8) על-כן (13:15; 16:29).

(9) לנב (14:5).

(10) הקריב (= approach) (14:10).

(11) נשא עינים (14:10).

(12) צעק (14:10,15).

(13) חדרל (14:12).

(14) קרים (14:21).

(15) שקר (14:24).

(16) מטר (in Hiph'il) (16:4).

(17) באש (16:20,24).

(18) מאן (16:28).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) בית עברים (13:3,14): cf. 20:2 [= E]; also Deut. 5:6; 6:12; 13:11, etc.

(2) המיש (13:22): cf. 33:11; Josh. 1:8.

(3) שלשים (14:7; 15:4 [= E]).

(4) נסה (15:25 [= E]; 16:4; 17:2,7 *bis*): cf. Gen. 22:1 [= E]; Ex. 20:20; Num. 14:22(?); also many times in Deut.

(5) ער-אנה (16:28): cf. Num. 14:11 *bis*; Josh. 18:3.

(6) נחה (13:17 [= E], 21): cf. Gen. 15:13; 24:27,48; Ex. 32:34; Num. 23:7; Deut. 32:12.

\* This passage belongs, according to Dill. and Kitt., before Num. 11:4. It is therefore enclosed here in brackets.



## 3) RARE WORDS.

- (1) חֹקֶיךָ (13:3; 14:16).  
 (2) מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה (13:10): found also in Judg. 11:40; 21:19, and in 1 Sam.  
 (3) שָׁנָר (13:12): cf. Deut. 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51.

- (4) עָרַף (as verb) (13:13): cf. Deut. 21:4, 7.  
 (5) טוֹטְפוֹת (13:16): cf. Deut. 6:8; 11:18.  
 (6) תּוֹלַע (masculine) (16:20).  
 (7) רָפָה (16:24) (nowhere else in Hex.).  
 (8) אֶרֶץ נוֹשֶׁבֶת (16:35).

## 4. STYLE.

[J and E are considered together, so far as they are alike. E's peculiarities will be pointed out in their proper place.]

It is

1) *Full of Anecdotes and Stories*: (1) Moses takes along Joseph's remains (13:19 [= E]); (2) Miriam celebrates (15:20 sq. [= E]); (3) Marah and its water (15:23-26 [= E]); (4) some try to leave manna over night, and the result (16:19 sq.);\* (5) the rock of Horeb (17:5 sq. [= E]); (6) the battle with Amalek (17:8-16 [= E]); (7) Jethro's visit (18 [= E]).

2) *Characterized by Puns*: (1) "Marah," because its water was *bitter* (15:23 [E]); (2) "manna," for they know not *what it is* (16:15); (3) "Massah and Meribah," "because of the *striving* of the children of Israel, and because they *tempted* the Lord" (17:7); (4) "Gershom," "for he said, I have been a *sojourner*, etc." (18:3 [= E]); (5) "Eliezer," "for he said, The *God* of my father was my *help*" (18:4 [= E]); (6) 'יהוה-נסי', because נִסִּיָּהּ (?)† (17:16 [= E]).

3) *Vivid*: in that (1) *conversation* describes the facts: (a) Israel's extreme terror at the approach of Pharaoh's host is given in the questions, "Because there were no graves in Egypt hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?" etc. (14:11 sq.); (b) contrast with this the serenity of Moses, "The Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no more forever," "the Lord will fight for you, etc." (14:13 sq.); (c) the Egyptians exclaim, "Let us flee from the face of Israel, etc." (14:25b); (d) Jethro's enthusiastic doxology expresses his deep joy (18:10 sq. [= E]); (e) a discussion between Jethro and Moses prepares us for the former's *advice* (18:14b-18, and 19-23 [= E]); (2) the *emphatic infinitive* is used, as (a) הִשְׁבִּיעַ הַשָּׁבִיעַ (13:19 [= E]); (b) פָּקַד יִפְקַד (*ibid.*); (c) גָּאָה גָּאָה (15:1, 21 [= E]); (d) שָׁמַע תִּשְׁמַע (15:26 [= E]); (e) מָחָה מָחָה (17:14 [= E]); (f) נָבַל תִּבָּל (18:18 [= E]); (3) it describes *scenes*: (a) the smiting of the rock (17:5 sq. [= E]); (b) Moses praying (17:10-12 [= E]); (c) Moses meeting his father-in-law (18:6-8 [= E]); (d) Moses on the judge's bench (18:13 [= E]).

4) *Prophetic* (= giving religious instruction). Every story has a great truth to teach, for example, (1) those who have faith in God remain calm in calamity (14:13 sq.); (2) those who do God's will need fear no evil (15:26 [= E]); (3) the prayer of a righteous man availeth much (17:11-13 [= E]); (4) we are to accept right instruction even from an enlightened heathen (18:19-26 [= E]).

\* Unless otherwise indicated, the material belongs to J.

† This emendation of the text is very plausible, for many reasons.

## 5. MATERIAL.

*Note:* (1) J's material which resembles P has been considered on pp. 243 sq.; (2) the rest will be compared and contrasted under E's "material," pp. 250 sq.

## 6. THEOLOGY.

[Both prophets are here considered, so far as they agree.]

1) God is *near* to the people: (1) he leads them personally (13:17 sq. [= E]; 13:21 [= J]); (2) he fights for them (14:14,25 [= J]; 14:24b,25a [= E]).

2) Sacrifice exists *before* the formal founding of the theocracy: (1) Moses builds an altar to commemorate the victory over Amalek (17:15 [= E]); (2) Jethro offers up an **עֹלָה** and **זִבְחִים** to God, and Aaron and the elders partake of the religious feast (18:12 [= E]).

3) J records the institutions of (1) the feast of unleavened bread (13:3-7); (2) the consecration of the first-born males (13:11-15); (3) the Sabbath (16:29). It is worthy of notice that these are not given directly as *laws*, but rather as national institutions to commemorate historical events. "Remember," says Moses, "you left Egypt in haste, and so let no leaven be eaten" (13:3); "Because God slew every first-born in Egypt, *therefore* do I sacrifice all that opens the womb, etc." (13:15); "For this reason does God give you a double portion on Friday, that ye may rest on the Sabbath" (16:29).

4) God uses *natural* means to accomplish his ends: (1) the east wind (14:21b); (2) a saccharine(?) tree (15:25 [= E]).

5) According to E, the officers of the theocracy were elected (1) *before* the law was given; (2) by the advice of a heathen priest (18:21-26).

## C. Element of E.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

13:17-19 (so *all*; but Jül. excepts 17a<sup>x</sup> [= R<sup>d</sup>]; and Kuen. adds also 21 sq.); 14:5-7 partly (?), 15 sq. in part, 19a,20 in part, 24 partly, 25a (Well., 3 sq. [exc. **וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בֶן**, 7,8a, **וַחִילוֹ**... **כָּל** in 9,10a, **מִהַ תִּצְעַק אֵלַי** in 15,16-19a, last clause of 20(?), 21ac,22 sq.,26,27a<sup>x</sup>,28 sq.; Jül., 7,10b<sup>b</sup> [from **וַיִּצְעַקוּ**], 16 partly, 19a, 21a<sup>x</sup>b,22,26(?),27a<sup>x</sup> [to **הָיִים**], 28a; so Kuen., but adding 19b,20; Kitt., 7,9a<sup>x</sup>,16, 19a,22a); 15:20 sq.,1-19,22-26 [27 = P<sup>2</sup>] (Well., 1-21 incorporated by R<sup>d</sup>; 22-25 and 27 = *perhaps* E [26 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Jül., 2-18 = R<sup>d</sup>, but see under J; [22-25a,27 = J; 25b,26 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen., 20 sq. [1-18 and 19 *may be* J], 22-26 [26\* = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., 22-25 [26 = R<sup>d</sup>]); 17:3-6,8-16 (so Kitt., excepting parts of 5 sq. [= J], and reading **בָּהָר** for **בְּחָרֵב** in 6; Well., 1b-7 [1a and traces in 2-7 are from another source], 8-16(?) [especially are 15 sq. doubtful]; so, practically, Kuen.; Jül., 1b,2, **עָבַר לִפְנֵי בִירְךָ** in 5, **הָעָם (וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בֶן מֹשֶׁה)** in 6,7 **בְּחָרֵב** in 6 = gloss]; 18:1-27 [exc. 2b = R; and traces in 1,(5),9 sq. = J.—This story probably misplaced.] (so, practically, *all*; but Kitt. excepts also 1b; Kuen. thinks it is all *recast* by R<sup>d</sup>; Jül. makes it to follow *immediately* 17:7).



## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"When Pharaoh dismisses the people, God leads them not by way of Philistia, though (?) that is the nearest route, fearing that they might return to Egypt, if they should encounter an enemy. So God causes them to go *around* to the Red Sea, by way of the wilderness; although they were well armed. Moses takes Joseph's remains with him, in accordance with the solemn charge of Joseph to his brothers.—Pharaoh, regretting that he has allowed the people to go, pursues them with a large army. God tells Moses to act rather than pray. God's angel shifts his post from the van to the rear of the camp, and throws the Egyptian army into confusion by removing the wheels from their chariots. Then Miriam, at the head of a female choral procession, celebrates Pharaoh's destruction with a song of triumph; while Moses and the people sing a hymn of praise and victory to him who is 'glorious in holiness, and who doeth wonders.'—From the Red Sea, they wander in the desert of Shur for three days without water. On reaching Marah, they find water, but it is bitter. The people complain; Moses prays, and God\* points out a tree which sweetens the water. Moses impresses upon them the necessity of obedience. [At Rephidim†] they are again without water, and again complain. In answer to Moses' prayer, God\* says, 'Lead the people to the rock of Horeb, where I await thee, and smite it with thy rod, and water will come forth.' It is done.—Amalek then comes and offers battle to Israel. Moses sends Joshua, with selected warriors, into the field; while he himself, accompanied by Aaron and Hur, ascends to the hill. The hands of Moses, uplifted all day (in prayer(?)), decide the fate of the struggle in favor of Israel, and Joshua gains the victory. Moses is ordered to record the event, and to impress it on Joshua that Amalek is to be blotted out. And he builds an altar to commemorate the victory. [Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, visits the camp, bringing Moses' family. After some friendly conversation, the 'priest of Midian' offers sacrifices to God, and Aaron as well as the elders partake of the sacrificial feast. Next day he advises Moses to appoint officers, who shall assist him in the arduous duties of governing the nation. The plan is adopted, and Jethro returns to his country.‡]"

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1. OLD WORDS.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) אלהים (13:17 <i>bis</i> , 18,19; 14:19; 17:9; 18:1,5,<br>12 <i>bis</i> , 15,16,19 <i>bis</i> , 21,23). | (7) נבהל (15:15).                                 |
| (2) פן (13:17).  | (8) על-כן (15:23).                                |
| (3) נחם [= repent] (13:17).  | (9) צעק (15:25; 17:4).                            |
| (4) מַטֶּה (14:16; 17:5).  | (10) שים (15:25,26 <i>bis</i> ; 17:12,14; 18:21). |
| (5) נהל (15:13).   | (11) שמע לקול (15:26; 18:24).                     |
| (6) רגו (15:14).   | (12) אין [in Hiph'il] (15:26).                    |
|  | (13) למה זה (17:3).                               |
|  | (14) חרב (17:6).                                  |

\* *Yahweh* in the text.

† This has to be supplied from another source.

‡ The proper place of this story is uncertain: it probably belongs after 33:11.

(15) ....נָצַב עַל (17:9; 18:14).

(16) מִזְבֵּחַ (17:15).

(17) דֶּרֶךְ רִי (17:16).

(18) אָהֵל (18:7).

(19) לִקְרֹאת (18:7).

(20) אִישׁ לִרְעֵהוּ (18:7,16).

(21) הַצִּיל (18:4,8,9,10 *bis*).

(22) עַל אֹדוֹת (18:8).

(23) גַּם....גַּם (18:18).

#### 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) חֲמִשִּׁים (13:18): cf. Josh. 1:14; 4:12.

(2) צִמָּה (17:3 *bis*): cf. Deut.\* 8:15; 28:48; 29:

19.

(3) צִיר (17:6 *bis*): cf. Num. 23:9; Deut.\* 8:

15; 32:13, *et al.*; Josh. 5:2,3.

(4) חֹזֶה (18:21): cf. 24:11; Num. 24:4,16.

(5) מַחֲלֵת (15:20): cf. 32:19.

(6) נוֹל (15:8): cf. Num. 24:7; Deut.\* 32:2.

#### 3) RARE WORDS.

(1) כִּכְרוּה (14:25).

(2) אוֹפֵן (14:25).†

(3) מַתֵּק (15:25).‡

[Note:—The numerous poetic expressions found in "Moses' Song," are omitted, since they are hardly illustrative of *ordinary* prophetic diction.]

#### 4. STYLE.

[Cf. under J, pp. 9–11.] Of E's *peculiarities* we note the following: (1) the use of "the angel of God" (14:19a); (2) a fondness for "three-days' journeys" (15:22); (3) the name of Moses' father-in-law, יִתְרִי (18:1,2,5,6,9,10,12).

#### 5. MATERIAL.

[J and E are here compared and contrasted.]

1) *Single accounts*: There are, in fact, only *two* stories which clearly show the traces of editorial combination in the prophetic material; otherwise, the narrative is from one or the other source. (1) From J, we have the account of (a) the institution of the feast of Mazzoth (13:3–10); (b) the consecration of the first-born (13:11–16) [both of which are explicitly connected with the stories of the "last plague in Egypt," and the "hasty exodus," as recorded by the same author in previous material (Ex. 11:4–8; 12:29 sq.; 12:34,39)]; (c) the gift of the manna and the Sabbath (16,‡ combined with P). [For E's version of the manna story, cf. Num. 11:7–9; (also 21:5, where לֶחֶם הַקִּלְקֵל is usually interpreted to mean manna); but the Sabbath is, according to E, given at Horeb (20:8 sq.)]. (2) From E come the following events: (a) the taking along of Joseph's remains (13:19), reminding us of Joseph's testament (Gen. 50:24 sq.); (b) the battle with Amalek (17:8–13); (c) Jethro's visit (18)—all of which are marked by the prevailing name of אֱלֹהִים.‡ (3) Ch. 15 belongs properly, as Jül. claims, to J, as can be seen by the invariable use of יְהוָה (fifteen times in all, not counting v. 19, which is

\* While the Deut. passages are neither J nor E, they are still *prophetic*, and may be *loosely* cited.

† Nowhere else in Hexateuch.

‡ J's account, however, belongs probably before Num. 11:4, where the subject will be more fully treated.

§ The presence of יְהוָה in *some* verses of ch. 18 is more easily explained by supposing it to be the work of R than on any other theory; as, e. g., 1) that אֱלֹהִים is only used in the mouth of *Heathen*; (but Jethro, the Gentile uses יְהוָה in vs. 10 sq., while Moses, the *supposed* narrator, uses mostly אֱלֹהִים; 2) that יְהוָה is distinctly the name used in connection with God's dealings with Israel; (but 17:1a is decidedly against this). We find also other traces of R in vs. 1,9 sq. [Cf. Dill., II., p. 184.]



clearly the work of R in an effort to harmonize P with the prophets); besides, v. 10a naturally refers to J's statement in 14:21, and v. 5a connects with J's portion of 14:27. Yet vs. 13-17 betray a *late* hand, of one to whom not only the settlement in Canaan was a matter of the *past* (note the *perfect* of all the principal verbs), but also of its establishment as a "holy habitation" (v. 13), "the mountain of God's inheritance, and the place of the sanctuary." Hence the name **הַר יְהוָה** may also be due to this later hand; and if, as Dill., etc., claim, E is the *earliest* of the prophets, we may assume that the *original* song (bearing undoubted signs of antiquity) existed first in his document. One thing is certain: P had nothing to do with it.

2) *Duplicates and differences*: (1) In the account of Pharaoh's disaster, we note (a) that Israel's *guide* shifts his position from the van to the rear of the camp (E = 14:19a; J = 19b); but this guide is, according to E, the "angel of God" [so characteristic of E], but according to J the "pillar of cloud" (consistent with his statement in 13:21 sq.); (b) the confusion of the Egyptians is due, according to J, to the appearance of Yahweh in the "two pillars" (14:24a), but according to E, to the removal of their chariot wheels (by the angel) (14:25a). (2) In the story of *Meribah* (17:2-7) we note (a) v. 3 is a clumsy repetition of v. 2; but (b), according to J, Moses rebukes the people's demands (v. 2b), while according to E, he prays for water (v. 4); (c) the *name* (**מַסָּה וּמְרִיבָה**) is only appropriate to the *terms* used by J in 2b; (d) while there is no connection between the *whole* story and 17:1 (= P), we may well suppose with R that the event took place at *Rephidim* [cf. v. 8].

*Remark*: The comparison of this *composite prophetic* account of the "waters of Meribah" with P's version of the same event (Num. 20:1-13), will be deferred till we reach that point.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

[Cf. under J., p. 248.] There is nothing *characteristic* of E, except, perhaps, "the angel of God," acting for him (14:19a).

#### XX. EX. 19:1-34:35.

[*Subjects*: (1) Arrival at Sinai, and preparations for the covenant; (2) the Decalogue; (3) the "book of the covenant;" (4) the covenant of blood; (5) minute instructions for the construction of the Tabernacle and its furniture; (6) the golden calf; (7) reconciliation through Yahweh's grace; (8) Moses' halo.]

#### A. The Element of P.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

19:2a,1 (so Jül. [whose analysis of P<sup>2</sup> ends here]; Well., 1,2a; Kuen., 2a(?); Kitt., 2a [v. 1 = P<sup>3</sup>]); 24:15-18a [to **הָעֵנָן**] (so Well. and Kuen.; Kitt., 15b-18a [and possibly as a fragment, 1 sq., 9-11]); 25:1-31:17 (so *all*); 32:15a(?) (so *none*); 34:29-35 (so *all*).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Proceeding from Rephidim, the children of Israel arrive in the wilderness of Sinai, in the third month after the Exodus. Moses ascends the mountain, covered with a cloud, where God's glory dwells like a consuming fire. On the 7th day, Moses is permitted to enter the cloud, where he receives elaborate instructions and models for the building of the Tabernacle and its furniture, and for Aaron's vesture. At the end of this interview, he receives the two tables of the law. When Moses comes down from the mountain his face shines in so peculiar a way that the people are afraid to come near; but he explains to them all that God has commanded him, and then puts a veil on his face."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (24:16,17; 34:32,34).

(2) כבוד יהוה (24:16,17).

(3) עֶרֶת (31:18; 32:15; 34:29).

(4) נָשִׂיא (34:31).

*Remark.*—The long section of 25:1–31:7, which properly belongs to the *Priestly Code*, will not be considered here, except in its *historic* connection. Hence, its vocabulary and style, though they illustrate P's characteristics in many and striking points, are entirely omitted.

## 4. STYLE.

Brief as P's historic material is (only twelve short verses), we note

1) *Dates*: (1) "In the third month" (19:1); (2) the cloud covers the mountain for "six days" (24:16); (3) Moses is called "on the 7th day" (*ibid.*).

2) *Stereotyped phrases*: (1) ביום הזה (19:1); (2) ויסעו...ויחנו (19:2a); (3) כבוד יהוה (24:16,17).

3) *Repetition*: (1) 19:1b is superfluous in connection with 2a; (2) 24:15a = 18a; (3) 24:15b is included in 16a; (4) 34:29a, except first *five* words, is not needed.

4) *A systematic arrangement*: (1) Just as creation led up to the Sabbath, the Deluge to the "law of blood," and Abraham's history to circumcision, so the Egyptian experience and Exodus bring us to the *Law*—the end and aim of the entire history of P; (2) this explains the scantiness of his material up to this point: it is in the *legal* chapters of Exodus and Numbers, and in Leviticus that P becomes prolific in substance and peculiar in style, where his characteristics are best illustrated; (3) the *first* laws have to do with the building of the Tabernacle, since from *there* the remainder are to be revealed.

## 5. MATERIAL.

[Best given in the form of remarks.]

1) Aside from the minute instructions about the Tabernacle (which occupy *seven* chapters), what P fails to record is more noteworthy than what he tells: he knows nothing about (1) the thunders of Sinai (*his* great revelation is to emanate from the Tabernacle (cf. 25:22; Lev. 1:1; Num. 7:89); (2) the nation's



apostasy (it would hardly do to record so early an act of idolatry, and that, too, under Aaron's vice-regency and superintendence); (3) the "ten words" (the entire law is equally important and binding); (4) the "covenant of blood" (since there are yet no altar and priests).

2) The points of contact between P and the prophets are (1) Moses ascends the cloud-covered mountain; (2) where God manifests his presence; and (3) he receives some laws on two tablets; (4) while his return causes consternation among the people.—But note the following

3) *Differences*: (1) According to the prophetic account, God appears *in* the cloud (J = 19:9; E = 20:21b); according to P, the cloud simply covers the mountain, while the **כְּבוֹד יְהוָה** is distinct from it (24:16a), appearing as a burning flame (24:17a); (2) the laws received were, according to P, instructions about the Tabernacle (chs. 25–31); according to the prophets, the "book of the covenant" (E = chs. 21–23; J = 34:10–27); (3) the Tables contained, according to J and E(?), the Ten Words (34:28); according to P, the **עֲרֵב** (31:18a; 32:15a; 34:29); (4) Moses' return inspires fear, according to J and E, because of their insubordination (J = 32:19b sq.; E = 32:26–28); according to P, because of his shining face (34:29b sq.).

4) If the entire account of Sinai, as we find it, is from *one* author, it is decidedly strange (1) that Moses' face had never shone before, in his many interviews with God(?); (2) that the writer should make Moses ascend *four times* in succession, without descending *once* (24:9, 13, 15, 18(?)) [repetition explains only the last two]; (3) that the writer should represent Yahweh choosing Aaron as his high priest (ch. 28), just about the time when Aaron is making the golden calf (32:4 sq.).

5) The detailed discussion of the Tabernacle, with all that is connected therewith, belongs to the *legal* argument which is to be considered later.\*

#### 6. THEOLOGY OF P.

1) The first step toward the establishment of the theocracy, is the building of a sanctuary (25:8), and the inauguration of the Priesthood (28:1).

2) He knows of no altars, till *the* altar is ordered (27:1); and of no sacrifices, before the priests are installed (ch. 29:1–37).

3) Every detail about the making of the Tabernacle, its furniture, and even the priestly attire was directly communicated to Moses from Yahweh.

4) The regular services (= the morning and evening sacrifices and incense) are instituted from the very beginning, and in all their details (29:38–30:10).

5) It is only Moses (the law-giver) who is favored with a divine halo, and even he only in connection with the revelation of the laws (34:29–35, especially v. 34).

---

\* The reader is referred to Dill., II., pp. 269–272, for a very impartial statement.

6) Aaron and his family are especially pointed out as the priestly family (28:1 41b; 30:30), which is forever to be hereditary (28:43b; 30:21b).

## B. Element of J.

### 1. VERSES.

19:3-6 in part, 9,11 partly, 13b(?),16 in part, 18 in part, 20-22,25 [23 sq. = R] (Well., 9a(?) [9b = R], parts of 10 sqq.(?),20-25 [exc. 23 sq = R<sup>d</sup>]; Jül., 9a,11,12(?), 13a(?),15,16a,18,20-22,25 [3b-8,12(?),13a(?),23 sq. = R<sup>d</sup>; 9b = R]—no further traces of J to the end of ch. 24, where Jül.'s treatise closes; Kitt., 9a(?),11 sq.,18,20 sq.); [20:18 partly(?), 20 in part(?)] (Well., 23-26; Kitt. and Jül. find no traces of J); (Well. alone gives chs. 21-23 (= the book of the covenant) to J, excepting the following interpolations: 21:23; 22:20-23,24 last clause, 30; 23:9b,22b-25a,31b-33 [= R<sup>d</sup>]; 23 = R; 23:17-19 is borrowed from 34:25 sqq.; 23:4 sq.,8 = early interpolations); 24:1 sq.,7\*,9 sq.,11 sq. in part, 18b (Well., 3-8; Kitt., one of the three **ויעל משה אל-ההר** in 13-18, perhaps 15a is the one); 32:1-14,19-24,30-34\* [35 = R] (Well., no J in 32; Kitt., 1-8 [9-14 = R<sup>d</sup>], 19,20(?),21-24,30-34 [35 = R or R<sup>d</sup>]; 33:1-5\*,12-23\* (Well., 1 sq.\*,3a,12,14 [13,15-23 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., traces in 3b\*sq.(?) and 12-23, especially in 19-23 [1-5 = E worked over by R<sup>d</sup>; 12-23 = R<sup>d</sup>, on a basis of J(?)]); 34:1-28 [10-27 removed by R from after 24:2. After 34:9 followed originally 33:14-17, then 34:28. Vs. 11-26 are a mere *extract* from the Book of the Covenant]. (Well., 1-28 = an ancient version of the Ten Words, incorporated by R<sup>d</sup>, and interpolated by him as follows: from **כראשנים** in v. 1 to **כראשנים** in v. 4, vs. 6-9, a great part of 10-13, and v. 24. The other interpolations in 10-27 by which the *original* Ten Words [viz., I. = v. 14a, II. = 17, III. = 18a, IV. = 19a, V. = 21a, VI. = 23, VII. = 25a, VIII. = 25b, IX. = 26a, X. = 26b] have been expanded, are a part of the code as it was when incorporated; Kitt., 1-5,10-27; also 28, but *before* 32:1 [6-9 = R<sup>d</sup>]. He thinks Well. may be right in seeing the *original* covenant in these verses; if so it would immediately follow ch. 19).

[*Note.*—For Kuen.'s analysis of J in this section, cf. *HEBRAICA*, July, 1888, p. 241, N. 116. In fact, he doubts whether J contributed anything to the Sinaitic Legislation, and the People's Apostasy.]

### 2. SYNOPSIS.

"....†In view of the people's deliverance from the Egyptians, Yahweh desires to make them his peculiar nation. Accordingly, after due preparation, Yahweh appears on the third day, amidst fire and dense smoke, on Mount Sinai. Moses is summoned to ascend, and is instructed to warn the people and priests against coming too near. Moses descends to tell them [but they naturally keep

\* Mr. Bacon failed to assign this verse; Dill. gives it to J (= C). [Cf. Dill., II., p. 255 (about the middle of the page), and p. 257, line 11.]

† J, according to the analysis, fails to tell us *how* they came to Sinai.



at a distance, overcome by fear.\*] Though Aaron, his two sons, and seventy elders are permitted to go up and bow at a distance, Moses alone is permitted to approach to Yahweh (who makes a covenant to deal wonderously with the people, while they are required to keep certain laws and festivals, and particularly to serve no other god).† This covenant is committed to writing, on stone tablets. Aaron and the elders see God, but Moses alone remains forty days on the mount. The people, thinking that Moses will never return, command Aaron to make them a god, and the golden calf is the result. Aaron builds an altar, institutes a feast, and the people offer sacrifices. Yahweh informs Moses of the apostasy, and, in his anger, is determined to destroy the nation; but Moses interceding reminds him of his oath to the patriarchs, and he repents.—As Moses approaches the camp, in his anger, the tables (of the covenant?) fall from his hands and are broken. He utterly destroys the calf, rebukes Aaron, and makes the people realize the enormity of their sin; still again he pleads with Yahweh, who finally agrees to send his angel to lead them to the promised land, without granting, however, a complete pardon. Moses is puzzled, and asks for a more complete revelation of Yahweh's providential dealings. It is granted, and Yahweh appoints a special place, where Moses is to meet him next morning, with another set of stone-tablets. There he reveals to him his attribute of mercy as well as of righteousness. Moses makes a final appeal, asking Yahweh, as a personal favor, to go with them, and to pardon their transgressions. (This is also granted.‡) Moses remains again with Yahweh for forty days, without food, and receives the ten words of the covenant, engraved on the new tablets.”

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יָהוָה (19:3b,7,8 *bis*, 9 *bis*, 10,11,18,20 *bis*, 21 *bis*; 24:1,2,3 [= E(?)] *bis*, 4a,5 [= E(?)], 12; 32:5,7,9,11,14,26 [= E(?)], 27 [= E(?)], 29 [= E(?)], 30, 31,33; 33:1,5,7 [= E(?)], 12,17,19,21; 34:1,4,5 *bis*, 6 *three times*, 10,14,23,24,26,27,28).

(2) עֵתָה (19:5; 32:10,30,34; 33:5,13).

(3) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל (19:5).

(4) אֲנֹכִי (19:9; 34:10,11).

(5) בַּעֲבוּר (19:9; 20:20 *bis*).

(6) יָרַר (19:11,14,18,20,21,25; 32:1,7,15; 33:5; 34:5,29 *bis*).

(7) יָרָה (= throw) (19:13 *bis*).

(8) פָּן (19:21,22,24; 33:3; 34:12 *bis*, 15).

(9) פָּרַץ (19:22,24).

(10) לָפִיד (20:18).

(11) מִרְחָק (20:18,21; 24:1).

(12) הִשְׁכַּם בְּנֶקֶר (24:4; 32:6; 34:4).

(13) עָלָה (= to sacrifice) (32:6).

(14) עָלָה (*ibid.*).

(15) פָּרַק (32:2,3,24).

(16) חָזַר אָף (32:10,11,12,19,22).

(17) הָרַג (32:12).

(18) אָדַמָה (32:12; 33:16).

(19) נָחַם (= repent) (32:12,14).

(20) קָחַלָה (32:19).

(21) אֹלִי (32:30).

(22) נָא (32:32; 33:13 *bis*, 18; 34:9 *bis*).

(23) נָחַה (32:34; 32:14).

(24) גָּרַשׁ (33:2; 34:12).

\* This is put in brackets, since Dill. is in doubt, whether 20:18,20 belongs to J or not.

† This comes from 34:10-27, which belongs, according to Dill., after 24:2.

‡ This statement comes from 33:14-17, which belongs, according to Dill., after 34:9.

- (25) שִׁית (33:4).  
 (26) מִצָּא חֵן בְּעֵינַי (33:12, 13 *bis*, 16, 17; 34:9).  
 (27) לִמְעַן (33:13).  
 (28) אִפּוֹא (33:16).  
 (29) פִּלָּה (33:16).  
 (30) חֲנֹן (33:19 *bis*).  
 (31) נִצַּב עַל.... (33:21).  
 (32) צוּר (33:21, 22).  
 (33) נִכּוֹן (34:2).  
 (34) שְׁלֵשִׁים (34:7).  
 (35) קִדְר וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִה (34:8).  
 (36) אֶרְנִי (34:9 *bis*).  
 (37) כִּרְת בְּרִית (34:10, 12, 15, 27).  
 (38) מָהֵר (34:8).  
 (39) נִפְלְאוֹת (34:10).  
 (40) גֵּרֶשׁ (34:11).  
 (41) הַשְׁמֵר ל.... (34:12).  
 (42) רִיקָם (34:20).  
 (43) לֹוֹן (34:25).  
 (44) גִּדִּי (34:26).

new words to be well illustrated by succeeding material. Hence, what is noticed hereafter cannot be dogmatically asserted to be *characteristic* of J and E; it simply shows the rich *variety* of their diction.]

- (1) עָשָׂן (as verb) (19:18): nowhere else.  
 (2) מָהֵר (as adverb) (32:8): cf. Deut. 4:26; 7:4, 22; 9:3, 12 twice, 16; 28:20.  
 (3) בָּשַׁשׁ (= delay) (32:1): again only in Judg. 5:28.  
 (4) חָלָה (= pray) (32:11): nowhere else in Hex.  
 (5) טָחֵן (32:20): cf. Num. 11:8; Deut. 9:21.  
 (6) נִקְרַת הַצּוּר (33:22): only again in Isa. 2:21.  
 (7) פָּסַל (34:1, 4): cf. Deut. 10:1, 3.  
 (8) נָצַר (34:7): cf. Deut. 32:10; 33:9.  
 (9) תְּקוּפַת הַשָּׁנָה (34:22): nowhere else in Hex.

## 2) NEW WORDS.

[Note.—As the prophetic narratives are practically near their end, we cannot expect the

## 4. STYLE OF THE PROPHETS.

[J and E are considered together.] It is

1) *Easy and Flowing*.—This point is especially noticeable in this section, which is decidedly *legal* in its intent and content, but different in its tone and spirit from P: (1) the preceding history, elaborate, interesting and instructive as it may be, cannot be considered a mere introduction to the brief “book of the covenant;” (2) while the covenant at Sinai has an august, almost awful, dignity (infinitely more so than in P’s passing notice), it is not disproportionately treated when compared with other events, as the apostasy or reconciliation; (3) nor is the revelation at Sinai the climax of the narrative: it is *an* event, important indeed, but not *the* all-important one; and (4) it is surely not the culmination of the history, since the succeeding events receive fully as much attention as this or any other one.

2) *Vivid, Descriptive*.—This also is the more strikingly illustrated in this section, since from the nature of the material we least expect it. We note (1) the picturesque scenes of (a) the nation trembling at the foot of the thundering, smoking, burning mountain; (b) the sinful nation, engaged in idolatrous orgies; (c) the repenting nation, watching reverently Moses’ communion with God; (2) poetic phrases: (a) “I bear you on eagles’ wings” (19:4); (b) “let not a hand touch it” (19:13); (c) “as the smoke of a furnace” (19:18); (d) “a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very heaven for brightness” (24:10); (e) “written with



the finger of God" (31:18b); (f) "blot me out of thy book" (32:32); (g) "he did neither eat bread nor drink water" (34:28); (3) the emphatic infinitive: (a) שָׁמַעוּ תִּשְׁמְעוּ (19:5; 23:22); (b) מוֹת יוֹמָת (19:12); (c) יֵרָה יֵרָה סָקֵל יִסָּקֵל (19:13); (d) נָקָה יִנָּקָה (34:7); (4) traits of human nature: (a) the people prefer to have Moses speak to them (19:19); (b) Moses is late, and the people become impatient for a new leader (32:1); (c) in his anger, Moses breaks the tablets (32:19); (d) Aaron, in trying to exonerate himself before Moses, fails to tell the whole truth: instead of telling that "he formed it, and made it a molten calf" (32:4), he says, "I cast it (the gold) in the fire, and out came this calf," as if by chance (32:24); (e) Moses acts resolutely (32:26-29); (f) the penitents rise and remain standing, as Moses passes (33:8).

3) *Anthropomorphic*: (1) the usual phrase of "Yahweh coming down" (19:11, 18,20; 34:5); (2) in his anger, Yahweh is determined to destroy the people, then he *repents*, etc. (32:10,14); (3) the great argument used by Moses is that Yahweh's reputation will suffer (32:12); (4) Yahweh speaks to Moses, "as one man to another" (33:11); (5) the whole presentation of Yahweh revealing his glory to Moses is very strange (33:18-23); (6) God is plainly visible (24:10,11), though, probably, not his face (33:20).

4) *Prophetic* (= giving religious instruction); as before, every story carries with it a great truth. (1) Obedience to God is the ground of Israel's supremacy over other nations (19:5); (2) the entire body of believers is to be a "kingdom of priests" (19:6); (3) the great things emphasized on Sinai consist in the proper attitude toward God and man (20:1-17); (4) wherever God manifests his presence, there worship is proper (20:24); (5) God protects and blesses those who do his will (23:20-31); (6) the intercession of the righteous averts God's anger (32:9-14); (7) God withholds nothing from those in whom he is well pleased (33:12-17); (8) God is compassionate, merciful and forgiving; but sin must be punished (34:6 sq.).

#### 5. MATERIAL.

[To be considered under E; cf. pp. 260 sqq.]

#### 6. THEOLOGY OF J AND E.

1) *Altars* are to be erected of *any* material in *any* place where God reveals himself, just as heretofore (20:24 sq.): Moses himself builds *an* altar (note the invariable absence of the *article*) at the foot of the mountain (24:4).

2) Moses builds also twelve "pillars"\* (one for each tribe), which are expressly forbidden both in Deut. (16:22) and in Lev. (26:1).† [Cf. Gen. 28:18.]

\* The context clearly shows that they were made for religious purposes, since they are mentioned together with the building of the altar, preparatory to sacrifices (24:4 sq.).

† This is not the place for a fuller discussion of the subject (it must be deferred for the "legal argument"); it may, however, be remarked that 34:13 and 23:24 [= R(?)] only enjoin the destruction of *heathen* "pillars," but do not forbid the "pillars."

3) There is no special priesthood for sacrifice: (1) the whole nation is to be a "kingdom of priests" (19:6); (2) the "young men" offer up the *covenant* sacrifices, at Moses' own bidding (24:5); (3) Moses himself sprinkles the blood (which is the highest act in any sacrifice) (24:6,8); (4) Aaron is the one who makes the *calf* (32:4 = J), or at least is the cause of the apostasy (32:25 = E); (5) intercession and atonement for the sinful nation are made, not by a priest and propitiation, but by a prophet and prayer (32:11); (6) in the mind of the nation also, Moses (not Aaron) was God's representative on earth; hence, in his absence, they clamored for another god (32:1).

4) All throughout the account of the apostasy, the reciprocal treatment between God and Moses is one of intimacy and familiarity, if not equality: (1) God says to Moses, "Thy people have corrupted themselves...and now let me alone" (32:7,10); (2) Moses uses, "Why should the Egyptians say," as an argument (32:12); (3) Moses says, "If thy presence go not, carry us not up hence" (33:15). [Cf. also 3], p. 261.]

### C. Element of E.

#### 1. VERSES.

19:2b,3-8\*,10-15,16 partly, 17-19\* (Well., 2b,10-19 in part [3-8 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Jül., 2b,3a,10,14,16b sq.,19 [3b (from ויקרא), 8,9b,12(?),13a(?),23 sq. = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen. (xv.), 10-19\* [3b-8,13(?) = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., 2b,3a,10,13-17,19); 20:1-20\* [9-11 = P<sup>2</sup>], 21-26 (Well., 1-19\* [6,23, also מביט עבדים in 2, and גרך אשר בשערך in 10 = R<sup>d</sup>; v. 11 = R]; Jül., 1,2a,3a,7a,8,12a,13-17a,18\*,19,20\* [2b,3b-6,7b,9 sq.,12b,17b = expansions of the Ten Words previous and subsequent to incorporation in E; v. 11 = R], 24 [22 sq. = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen. (xv.), 18-21,1-17\* [v. 11 = P<sup>2</sup> or R], 22a,24-26 [22b sq. = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., 1-10,12-17 [exc. many interpolations of R<sup>d</sup>, especially in 1-10],18-26); 21-23, an ancient code incorporated by E [removed by R from after 24:14]. (The following interpolations by R should be eliminated: 22:20-23,24b, 30; 23:13,15,23-25,31b,33) (Well., book of Covenant incorporated by J [for interpolations, etc., cf. *analysis* of J]; Jül., book of Covenant (= 20:24-23:33) = E [exc. 22:19-26,27b(?); 23:4 sq.(?) (7b as in LXX.), 8b,9b,10-12,14-19,22-33 = principally R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen. (xv.) says, It occupied originally the place of Deut., whence it was removed by R<sup>d</sup>, who added the following interpolations: 21:16; 22:20-26; 23:1-3,6-12,22b(?),23 sq.,25a(?),30-33, and perhaps others; [23:13 = R]; Kitt., 21-23:1-7,20-22); 24:3,4 from ויבן, 5 sq.,8a,11 sq. in part, 13 sq. (Well., 13 sq., ויעל משה אל ההר in 15, and 18 [exc. 18a\* = P<sup>2</sup>]; vs. 1 sq.,9,11 = E<sup>2</sup>; Jül., 3-8 [1 sq.,9,11 = P<sup>3</sup>]. (Jül.'s treatise ends here); Kuen. (xv.), 3-8 [exc. תחת ההר in 4 = R<sup>d</sup>], belongs with the book of the Covenant (i. e., after Num. 32); 24:12-14\* [in 14 read העם for הוֹקְנִים, 18b, followed Ex. 20:17, and they are "prae-prophetic" [so I., p. 242]; Kitt., 3-8,12-14 [reading הָעָם, 18b); 31:18b (so *all*); 32:15 in part, 16-19a\*,25-29 (Well., 1-6,15-21,35 [7-14,21-34 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen., 1-6,



15-20, 21-24(?) [7-14, 25-29 = E<sup>2</sup>]; Kitt., 15-20, 25-29); 33:1-5 in part [in 5, from beginning to **יִשְׂרָאֵל**, then **הוֹרֵר עֲרִיךְ נִעְלִיךְ** (changed to plural forms)], 6\*, ....7-11. (Well., 1-6....[exc. parts of 1sq., and 3 to the 'äthnāh = J], 7-11; Kuen., *fragments* of 32:30-33:6; 33:7-11; 34:1, 4, 28b [so apparently in 1., § 8, N. 13, and in xv.; but cf. 1., § 13, N. 20, p. 245, and N. 25, p. 251, where it seems that all the above passages are *secondary* or *tertiary*, and only 24:1, 2, 9-11...33:7-11 would thus form the "original" element]; Kitt., 1-3a, [exc. interpolations of R<sup>d</sup>], 5-11).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"...†And Israel encamped there (= at Horeb) opposite the mountain, and Moses ascended to God. In view of the solemn covenant that is to be made on the mountain, the people are cautioned not even to touch it. They are also instructed to wash themselves and their garments. On the third day, amidst thunder and lightning, Moses presents the people to God, at the foot of the burning mountain, where God utters the Ten Commandments.‡ The people naturally keep at a distance; Moses alone approaches the dark spot where God is, and is ordered to emphasize to the people again the fact that no images are to be made in God's worship, but altars (of earth or stone) are to be built in any place where God should vouchsafe his presence and blessing. Then he builds an altar (also twelve pillars for the tribes of Israel), and commissions the 'young men' to offer up sacrifices, sprinkling half of the blood on the altar, and half on the people, and a feast completes the ceremonies of the covenant.§||—Leaving Aaron and Hur to manage the people's affairs, Moses goes up with Joshua to the 'Mount of God,' where he receives a code of social, civil and religious laws, for the observance of which many temporal blessings are promised, especially the subjection of the promised land. [He also receives]¶ tablets of stone written with God's finger on both sides. Joshua calls his attention to extraordinary shouts from the camp. As he approaches, Moses discovers that, owing to Aaron's mismanagement, the people have broken all religious restraint and are in a state of anarchy. He finds, however, the 'children of Levi' still loyal, and orders them to quell the rebellion by the sword. Some three thousand of the people are killed. God\*\* threatens them with complete destruction, and orders them to give up their ornaments, which they do. [...††This furnishes the money for the construction of the 'Tent

\* Here, according to *all* critics, was *originally* E's account of the building of "Tent of Meeting," for which the *ornaments* of v. 6 were used. [Cf. HEBRAICA, July, '88, p. 231, N. 69, N. B.]

† The *formal* statement of leaving Rephidim and going to Horeb is omitted in E.

‡ These were originally ten *brief* phrases; thus the fourth was *later* developed by P (vs. 9-11).

§ This is probably the significance of the last *two* words of 24:11 [so Dill.].

|| The entire sentence is from 24:4b-14, which belongs, according to Dill., *before* the Book of the Covenant.

¶ This has to be supplied from another source.

\*\* Yahweh in the text.

†† Here was *originally* the account of the building of the Tabernacle.

of Meeting.] Moses removes it far from the camp, and there the 'cloudy pillar' often meets him, and God converses with him face to face. As a sign of repentance, the people rise in their tents and look after Moses till he enters the tent, and at the descent of the cloudy pillar they prostrate themselves. Joshua, Moses' servant, never leaves the tent."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

[*Note.*—The words of the "Book of the Covenant" are omitted here.]

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) אלהים (19:3,17,19; 20:1,19,20,21; 24:11,13; 31:18b; 32:16 twice).  
 (2) נכון (19:11,15).  
 (3) השמר ל... (19:12).  
 (4) אנכי (20:2,5; 23:20; 32:18).  
 (5) מבית עברים (20:2).  
 (6) שלשים (20:5).  
 (7) עשה חסד (20:6).  
 (8) אמה (20:10).  
 (9) על-כן (20:11).  
 (10) למען (20:12).  
 (11) אדמה (20:12,24).  
 (12) חמד (20:16,17).  
 (13) פן (20:19; 23:29,33).  
 (14) נסה (20:20).  
 (15) לקראת (19:17).  
 (16) גרש (23:28,29,30,31).  
 (17) שית (23:31).  
 (18) שמע בקול (23:21,22).  
 (19) עלה (= sacrifice) (24:5).  
 (20) כרת ברית (24:8).  
 (21) שים (32:27).

- (22) איש....רעהו (32:27; 33:11).  
 (23) הרג (32:27).  
 (24) חורב (33:6).  
 (25) אהל (33:7,8 three times, 9 bis 11).  
 (26) הבית (33:8).  
 (27) המיש (33:11).  
 (28) נשא (= forgive) (23:21).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) אל קנא (20:5): cf. 34:14 [= J]; Josh. 24:19; also Deut. 4:24; 5:9; 6:15.  
 (2) ערפל (20:21): cf. Deut. 4:11; 5:19.  
 (3) גזית\* (20:25).  
 (4) מעלות\* (= stairs) (20:26).  
 (5) איב (as verb) (23:22).  
 (6) צרעה (23:28): cf. Josh. 24:12; also Deut. 7:20.  
 (7) אָנָן\* (24:6).  
 (8) רָע (= tumult) (32:17): cf. Micah 4:9.  
 (9) שִׁמְצָה (32:25): cf. שִׁמְץ (?), Job 4:12; 26:14.  
 (10) עָרִי\* (33:4,5,6).

## 4. STYLE.

[Cf. under J, pp. 24 sq.]

## 5. MATERIAL.

[Both J and E are here considered and compared.]

- 1) *Duplicate statements*: (1) 19:6b is an unusual résumé of 3b (beginning כה); (2) 19:9b = 8b;† (3) 19:21 sq. are, in thought, a repetition of 12 sq.;‡ (4) 20:21a = 18b; (5) 24:2a = 20:21b; (6) 24:3 has the same account as 19:7,8a; (7) 24:10a = 11b; (8) 32:25 is quite similar in thought to 19a + 21,—in both Moses considers Aaron the cause of the terrible state of affairs which he sees; (9) 33:6 = prac-

\* Nowhere else in Hex.

† "Ἀπᾶξ λεγόμενον.

‡ See under 3) below.

§ R felt it, and introduced v. 23 to smooth over the difficulty; but Yahweh's reply in v. 24 hardly meets Moses' objections, and only increases the repetition.



tically 4b; (10) a covenant is made in 24:8 and in 34:10 [are they different transactions, or the same?]; (11) 24:2b is surely superfluous after 19:12 sq., 21-25; 20:18b sq.; (12) 34:11-14 is substantially the same as 23:20-24.

2) *Differences*: (1) According to E, Moses goes up to God (19:3a); according to J, Yahweh calls down from the mountain (19:3b~~s~~); (2) 19:15b is not expressly found in the instructions given in vs. 10-13 (it may, perhaps, be implied in וקראשתם, v. 10); (3) according to 19:13b [= E(?)], the horn-blast is the signal of God's departure, "when the people may ascend to the mountain;" but in v. 16 [= J], it announces Yahweh's arrival;\* (4) the warning to the people to keep away from the mountain is given, according to E, three days *before* the Theophany (19:11-13); according to J, *after* Yahweh "has come down" (19:20-22);† (5) God promises to send his angel with his people, according to E (23:20), as an expression of his favor;‡ but according to J (32:34), as an indication of his displeasure (cf. Num. 22:22); (6) Moses ascends to receive the law, according to J, *alone* (24:12+18b); but according to E, he takes *Joshua* with him (24:13); (7) accordingly, when the apostasy occurs, Moses learns about it from Yahweh, according to J (32:7); but in E's account, *Joshua* calls his attention to the uproar in the camp (32:17); (8) in J, the people's sin consists in the making of the calf (32:4-6); E refers to it as mere rebellion (32:25);§ (9) hence, Moses' action, on his return, is, according to J, to destroy the calf (32:20); but according to E, to quell the insurrection, by the aid of his clan (32:26-28); (10) in J's story, the people do not put on their ornaments of their own accord, because they mourn over their lost favor with Yahweh (33:3b sq.); but in E's account, they are ordered to remove them, as a penalty for their transgression (33:5 sq.); (11) according to J, reconciliation is effected by Moses' repeated intercession (32:11-13, 31 sq.; 33:12-16; 34:9); but according to E, by the people's repentance, as shown by their ready surrender of their ornaments, and their reverent attitude toward the holy place (33:6-10); (12) the many points of difference in the two codes (21-23, and 34:10-26) are beyond the scope of this article, which is purely historical.

3) *Incongruities*: (1) 19:3b~~s~~ is strange after 3a; when Moses had gone up to God, Yahweh calls him from the mountain (note also the sudden, unaccountable change from יהוה to אלהים); (2) 19:9b is meaningless as it stands, especially after 8b, and is best explained as having had *originally* a different connection; (3) 19:18 tells us that Sinai was all smoking, "because that Yahweh *had come down*" (the perfect ירר after the perfect עשן, must be translated by a pluperfect), and v. 19b adds that Moses was already conversing with God; but v. 20

\* For a full discussion of this point, cf. Dill., II., p. 197.

† Cf. Note 4 (= §) on preceding page.

‡ It will be remembered that it is characteristic of this writer to speak of the angel as God's representative, and to make no distinction between God himself and the angel.

§ The Ephraimite could not very well condemn *this* calf as idolatry, in view of the worship at Beth-el [cf. 1 Kgs. 12:28 sq.].

starts out, in perfect ignorance of these statements, "And Yahweh came down, etc., and called Moses, etc.;" (4) 20:21a is not only a repetition of v. 18b<sup>2</sup>, but sounds very unnatural after Moses' calming words in v. 20; (5) 20:21b informs us that "Moses drew near to the thick cloud where God was" (it is, of course, on the top of the mountain [19:20a]); *there*, then, is Moses, while receiving the laws and promises enumerated in 20:22-23:33. What, then, does 24:1 mean, when it reads, "And unto Moses he said, *Come up* to Yahweh, etc.?" In fact, the phrase **וַאֲלֵ מֹשֶׁה אָמַר** syntactically implies that what has gone before has *not* been said unto Moses just there and then; (6) but having received this summons, it is difficult to see why Moses should do so many things (enumerated in 24:3-8) before obeying it; (7) according to v. 9, he finally does as ordered in v. 1, and *ascends*; what then does v. 12a mean, reading, "And Yahweh said unto Moses, *Come up* unto me to the mountain, etc.?" (8) Why should there be so much guess-work on the part of Joshua and Moses (32:17sq), when the latter was plainly told by Yahweh himself of the people's apostasy (32:7sq.)? (9) The massacre instituted by Moses (32:26-29) seems as cruel as it was unnecessary, after his action in v. 20: if they submitted without murmur to have their idol destroyed, and to drink water in which its powdered remains were mingled, as a penalty [cf. Num. 5:17-22], why inaugurate a wholesale slaughter against an unresisting, penitent people? (10) On the other hand, his gracious disposition the next morning (32:30-32) seems to be that of either *another Moses* or of another writer; (11) why the people should mourn so much at the announcement that Yahweh is going to send an angel to banish the Canaanitish tribes (33:2,4), which is almost an exact repetition of the original promise made before the apostasy (23:23), is quite inexplicable; (12) after Yahweh's repeated assurance that "his presence" would accompany the people (33:14-17), Moses' prayer, in 34:9a, has no meaning.

4) *Traces of editorial combinations*: (1) All the foregoing instances of (a) repeated material; (b) different presentations, and (c) incongruous statements—show clearly that *two* accounts have here been interwoven together; (2) on the other hand, there are no important omissions [as can be seen from the *Synopses* under J and E]; (3) the only exception to the preceding remark is in the case of the account of the "Tent of Meeting," which is absolutely demanded before 33:7, and which R evidently omitted in favor of the *fuller* account of P; (4) the most striking feature of R's work in this section is, however, the numerous *misplacements* of material; of these we note the more important: (a) 20:1 sounds very abrupt after 19:25, but it fits well after 19:19, where it belongs; (b) the introductory verse, 21:1, is hardly appropriate, since the foregoing verses (20:23-26) are also laws; (c) 24:1 does not go well with 23:33; nor, in fact, with any of E's material [cf. (5) under 3), above], but falls in with 19:25; (d) 24:3 is only appropriate immediately after some *code* [hence it is assigned after 34:10-27], but not after 24:1sq.; (e) the more detailed description of the Tablets (32:15b sq.) naturally



belongs with 31:18 [no writer could betray such a lack of sympathy with the serious subject in hand, as to stop for so passing a remark concerning Tablets, which play, at best, but a subordinate part in the story]; (f) it is difficult to conceive of a more abrupt transition, in the same paragraph, than is presented by 33:7 [the *article* in **הָאֵהָל** clearly points back to something mentioned immediately before; but even *remotely* (ch. 26), we have only instructions for the erection of the Tabernacle, while the actual erection of the building did not take place till some nine months later [cf. 19:1; 24:18b, and 40:17]; (g) 33:12 has no possible connection where it stands, but evidently refers back to 32:34–33:4 [note especially the participle **אָמַר**, as if Yahweh were just speaking]; (h) the answer in 33:14 does not meet the request of v. 13 [**הוֹדַעְנִי נָא אֶת־דַּרְכְּךָ**]; while it is just what is needed to satisfy 34:9a; (i) in like manner, 34:10–27 has no logical connection with what precedes [since it was *not* a covenant the people wanted: this they had (if the previous material is from the same pen); but Moses prays for Yahweh's favor to be restored], but fits admirably before 24:3 [cf. especially 34:27 with 24:4a and 7a].

*Remark.*—After the foregoing array of facts, the question may well be asked, How could R (whoever he was) have done such work? It can only be said that (1) the facts are here; and whether they are best charged to the original writer, or to a later editor, is for the reader to judge; (2) R's task was a difficult one, and the wonder is not that he left some traces of his work, but that many ages, even though uncritical, have failed to discover them.

## 6. THEOLOGY.

[Cf. under J, p. 258.]

**XXI. NUM. 10:29—17:28.\***

[*Subjects:* (1) Invitation to Hobab to accompany Israel; (2) the clamor for flesh to eat, and the installment of the seventy elders; (3) Miriam's leprosy; (4) the twelve spies and their report; (5) the people's rebellion, and Yahweh's decree; (6) disastrous encounter with the Amalekites; (7) Korah's insurrection and fate; (8) consequences of Korah's punishment; (9) the blossoming staff.]

**A. The Element of P.**

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

13:1–17a, 21, 25, 26a, 32 [to **הָיָא**] (so, practically, *all*); 14:1 sq. in part, 5–7, 10, 26–29, 34–38 [27–34 show traces of R†] (Well., 27 sq. (?); Kuen. adds 3 and 30–33 [26–38 expanded by R]; Kitt., gives *all* of v. 2, and adds v. 39; otherwise, *all* like Dill.); [15 = *entirely* P\* (so *all*)]; 16:1a, 2–4 in part, 5–7 mostly, 18–24a, 35 [3 partly, 8–11, 16 sq., 24b, 27a, 32b = R]; Well., 1 sq. partly, 8–11, 16–22, 35 [6 sq. = R; last clause

\* Except ch. 15, which is assigned to the *Priest Code*.

† Cf. Dill., III., pp. 78 sq.

of 7 was perhaps removed by R from v. 3 (= E(?)); Kuen., 1 sq. in part, 3-7, 13-15a, 19-24, 27a, 35 [בן יצחק בן קהת in v. 1, and vs. 8-11, 16-18 = P<sup>3</sup>]; Kitt., 2-7a, 15a, (18), 19-23, and parts of vs. 24, 26 sq., 32-34 [1a, 7b, 8-11, 16 sq., (18), 35 = P<sup>3</sup>]; 17:6-28\*[1-5 = P<sup>3</sup>] (so *all*).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

[“The ‘Tabernacle’ is elaborately constructed by Bezalel and Oholiab, and is erected for use on the first day of the second year. Yahweh’s glory fills the ‘Tabernacle,’ and there Moses receives the Levitical code. Aaron and his four sons are installed as priests, but Nadab and Abihu offer incense with unconsecrated fire, and a fire from Yahweh consumes them. A month later, a minute census of the twelve tribes (Levi being excluded) is taken, and the nation is divided into four divisions, which are to have their quarters on the four sides of the Tabernacle, both when in camp and when on the march. The Levites also are numbered, and organized as a body-guard around the holy place. Twenty days later, they leave Sinai, and the organized ‘hosts’ move further in the wilderness.\*] By Yahweh’s command, twelve men, one from each tribe, are sent to spy out Canaan. They return, after forty days, with an unfavorable report. The people grumble against Moses and Aaron. Two of the spies, however, stand by Moses and Aaron, and stoutly maintain that the country is ‘exceedingly good.’ The people wish to stone them; but Yahweh interferes, and decrees that none of that rebellious people (from the age of twenty and upwards) shall enter the promised land: they are to die slowly within the next forty years, which they are to spend in the wilderness (a year for each day spent by the twelve). The spies, except Joshua and Caleb, die on the spot. Now, Korah, with a band of 250 prominent men of the congregation, disputes the supremacy of Moses and Aaron over the laity. Moses suggests to them to test the matter by offering up incense (a priestly prerogative) next morning, when Yahweh will manifest his choice. At Korah’s instigation, the entire nation is present next morning at the Tabernacle. Yahweh wishes to destroy all, but Moses and Aaron interceding, the punishment is limited to the 250, who are consumed by a fire from Yahweh, [Eleazar, Aaron’s eldest son, is ordered to make plates from the censers of the rebels, and cover with them the altar, as a warning against Korah’s example†]. Next morning a reaction takes place: the people charge Moses and Aaron with having killed the ‘godly people.’ Again would Yahweh destroy them all; but Aaron, at Moses’ suggestion, hurries into the camp with a pan of holy incense, and by this atonement stays the plague which has already devoured 14,700 people. In order to settle all

\* This matter in brackets, is a brief summary of P’s historical connecting links scattered all through Ex. 35:I-Num. 10:28, where P’s narrative is again interwoven in the *prophetic* material.

† This is assigned to P<sup>3</sup>.



doubts as to Aaron's divine right to the high-priesthood, Yahweh orders the chief of each tribe to deposit a staff in the Tabernacle, Aaron being the representative of Levi's tribe. Next morning, as Moses enters the Tabernacle, he finds that Aaron's staff had blossomed and produced ripe almonds. This staff is preserved as a warning for future rebels. These events make a very deep impression upon the people."

## 3. LANGUAGE OF P.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) יהוה (13:1,3; 14:10, 11, 13, 14 *bis*, 26, 28, 35, 37; 16:5, 6 *bis*, 19, 20, 23, 35; 17:1, 3, 5 *bis*, 6, 7, 9, 11, 16, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28).
- (2) ארץ כנען (13:2, 17a).
- (3) נשיא (13:2; 17:21 three times, 17).
- (4) על פי יהוה (13:3).
- (5) ערת בני (13:26; 14:5, 7).
- (6) מאד מאד (14:7).
- (7) כבוד יהוה (14:10; 16:19; 17:7).
- (8) נשיא ערה (16:2).

- (9) נתן (16:7, 18; 17:11, 12).

- (10) ערות (= the law) (17:19, 22, 23, 25).

- (11) שכך (17:20).

- (12) כשמרת (17:25).

- (13) כן עשה (17:26).

- (14) גוע (17:26, 28).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

None, except those belonging strictly to P's code (ch. 15).

## 4. STYLE OF P.

It is marked by

1) *Precision and exactness*: (1) the "land of Canaan" is further described as that "which Yahweh gives to the children of Israel" (13:2); (2) the *names and patronymics* of the spies are given (13:4-15); (3) "they spied out the land 'from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob to the entering in of Hamath'" (13:21); (4) the "tent of meeting" is more fully designated by the phrase, "Where I meet with you" (17:19).

2) *Repetition and verbosity*: (1) 13:3b is unnecessary after 2b; (2) 13:16a is an expanded repetition of 4a; (3) 13:17a is not needed after 3a; (4) 13:26a is a verbose expansion of 25a; (5) אתה... הארץ in 13:32b, and in 14:7b, is superfluous; (6) 14:37 might easily be construed so as to avoid v. 36, which is grammatically without connection, and rhetorically unnecessary; (7) 16:5b adds nothing to 5a, especially in connection with 7a; (8) 17:3a, except למזבח... וישו, (or ten words out of sixteen) are unnecessary after v. 2; (9) 17:6 (the *longest* verse in the section) is an elaborate repetition of 3b; (10) 17:15b = 13b; (11) 17:18b is superfluous after the full instructions in 17a; (12) a short verse like 17:26 (in fact, the first five words of it) could easily be substituted for v. 21sq. (containing thirty-two words); (13) the last three words of 17:26 add nothing to the thought.

3) *Numbers and dates*: (1) The spies return, at the end of forty days (13:25); (2) Korah's party has 250 prominent adherents (16:2); (3) in the plague, 14,700 die (17:14); (4) not satisfied with telling us that *each* tribe is to furnish a staff, P characteristically sums up, every time he mentions the fact, that there were twelve staffs (17:17, 21).

4) *Stereotyped phrases*: (1) *יִירָדֵר יְהוָה... לְאָמֵר* (13:1; 14:26; 16:20,23; 17:1,9,16); (2) *עָרַת בְּנִי* (13:26; 14:5,7; 17:6); (3) at every trouble, "Moses falls on his face" (14:5; 16:4,22; 17:10).

## 5. MATERIAL.

We note

1) *Duplicates*: Both tell (1) of the salient points touched by the spies (P = 13:21; JE = 13:22 sq.);† (2) of Caleb's bringing a good report, and supporting Moses (E = 13:30; P = 14:6 sq.); (3) of Yahweh's oath (E = 14:23 sq.; P = 14:35); (4) of the forty years to be spent in the wilderness (J = 14:33; P = 14:34); (5) of Moses treating with those who oppose his authority (P = 16:3-7; J = 16:12-15); (6) of a signal punishment coming from Yahweh upon the rebels (J = 16:30,32a,33; P = 16:35).

2) *Differences*: (1) According to P, the extent of the spies' tour is emphasized (13:21) [this is in full accord with the writer's cold, matter-of-fact history]; but the prophets mention only those points which were the basis of their unfavorable report (cf. 13:22 sq. with vs. 27 sq. and 32b sq.); (2) according to E, Caleb alone contradicts the bad report of the other spies (13:30); but according to P, Joshua is the principal supporter of Moses, and Caleb is mentioned only with Joshua (14:6 sq.); (3) consistently, in Yahweh's decree, Caleb only is excepted, in E's account (14:24); but P represents Joshua and Caleb as escaping the divine wrath (14:38);‡ (4) the forty years in the wilderness are, according to J, a punishment of the children, inevitably connected with the favor granted to the sinful generation, not to perish immediately (14:33); but according to P, they are the punishment of the sinners: a drudgery of forty years in the desert, for the forty days spent by the spies (14:34); (5) according to P, Moses treats with Levites who aspire to *priestly* equality (16:5-7, especially 7b); but according to J, the party is made up of Israelites, dissatisfied with Moses' leadership (16:12-15); (6) consistently, the terrible death comes to the rebels, according to J, to establish Moses' divine mission (16:28-30); but according to P, to demonstrate the unfitness of the rebels for priestly service (16:6 sq., 18,35); (7) consistently again, the death, according to J, is merely a strange phenomenon, showing Yahweh's direct interference and his displeasure (16:30); but according to P, it is directly connected with the presumptuous attempt at sacrifice (16:35) [cf. Lev. 10:1 sq.].

3) *Incongruities*: (1) J makes the ark of Yahweh's covenant go before the

\* Here, as well as in other points of diction and style, ch. 15, though very rich in P's characteristics, is omitted.

† That vs. 22 sq. are *not* a mere expansion of v. 21, is seen from the fact that v. 22 begins anew with *וַיַּעֲלֵי*. Cf. also *Differences*: (1) below.

‡ It is interesting to notice that J, having *both* names, mentions Caleb *first* (14:30); and thus R found it easier to combine P with J (both of whom agree at least in mentioning *both* men) rather than with E [cf. 14:6-9 (where 8 sq. are attached to P's account), and 14:26-38 (where J's part, vs. 28,30-33, are interlaced in P's material)].



people (at a distance of three days ahead of the camp, 10:33b); but cf. P, Num. 2:17; 10:13-17; (2) 12:16 contradicts 10:12 (in fact, 10:33; 11:3,35 also refute the idea of *one* station between Sinai and Paran); (3) 14:29 would naturally come after v. 35; here it has no connection; (4) if the leaders of the rebellion against Moses were Korah *and* Dathan and Abiram, then these latter are included in עֲרֵרוֹ of 16:5 and 6; but v. 7b is decidedly against this, if only *one* man was a Levite; (5) also Moses' sending for Dathan and Abiram (v. 12) is very strange, after the satisfactory arrangement of vs. 5-7; (6) the greatest difficulties, however, are found in 16:23-35; (a) in v. 24, the order comes for the people to depart "from the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan and Abiram;" but Moses goes only to the last *two*, "and tells the people to turn away from the tents of *these* wicked men" (vs. 25 sq.); (b) in 27a, again all *three* are mentioned; but in 27b, Korah is omitted again; (c) the sentence pronounced in vs. 28-30, naturally refers only to Dathan and Abiram [cf. 27b]; but in 32b Korah reappears again [in such a way, however, as clearly to show that even 32a does not refer to him\*]; (d) vs. 32-34 surely give the impression that the whole trouble was over: everything pertaining to the rebels was swallowed up in the earth; but v. 35 remarks, passingly as it were, that a "fire consumed the 250 men that offered the incense." [In fact, the 250 men are entirely lost sight of in this section, until we reach the last verse.]

4) *Conclusion*: All the preceding facts show not only (1) that R has combined various documents, but also (2) that he has occasionally inserted *harmonizing* glosses and verses.

#### 6. THEOLOGY OF P.

1) He lays so much stress on the fact of Yahweh's indorsement of Aaron's sole claim to the priesthood, that (1) more than two-thirds of his material is given to it (chs. 16 sq.); (2) *four* distinct events are related, all bearing on this point: (a) Korah's company is destroyed by fire (ch. 16); (b) the remains of their censers are spread on the altar (17:1-5 = P<sup>3</sup>); (c) a plague destroys many of Korah's sympathizers (17:6-15); (d) Aaron's blooming staff finally settles the matter (17:16-26). [That all these have their desired effect is shown in 17:26 sq.].

2) Yahweh's punishments are *direct*: (1) The evil spies are stricken down "before Yahweh" (14:27); (2) a fire "from Yahweh" consumes the 250 men (16:35); (3) the plague among the people is "the wrath gone out from before Yahweh" (17:11b).

3) The main activity of Yahweh, especially the theophanies, are at the Tabernacle: (1) Yahweh's appearances are invariably *in* or *near* the אהל מועד (14:10; 16:19; 17:7); (2) Korah's party comes there to learn of Yahweh's choice (16:18 sq.); (3) the miracle of the transformation of Aaron's staff occurs in the אהל העדרת (17:19, 22 sq., 25).

\* For if אֶתֶם וְאֶת־בְּתֵיהֶם includes Korah and all his possessions, then 32b is wholly meaningless.

4) Atonement for the nation's sin is effected (1) by Aaron; (2) by burning incense; (3) with fire obtained from the altar (17:11; cf. Lev. 16:12).

### B. Element of J.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

10:29-32, 33b, 35 sq. [then comes J's portion of Ex. 16] (Well. adds v. 34; Kuen. and Kitt. only 29-32 [Kitt., like Dill., puts here Ex. 16 in part]); 11:4-6, 10,\* [except **וַיַּחַר אֶף יְהוָה בְּמֵאֵד** = E], 11-29 [the two stories of the murmuring for flesh, and of the appointment of elders *originally separate*, were united by R] (Well., 1-3(?), 4-6, 10ab, 11-13, 23, 10ba, 30-35; Kuen., 4-13, 15, 31-33 in part, 34,\* 35,\* [18-24a, 31-33 mostly = R<sup>d</sup> (JE)]; Kitt., 4-6, 10-29 [or 24-29 = R<sup>d</sup>]); 12:2, 4 sq. and 9 [all in part], 6-8 mostly,\* also other *traces* (so *none*); 13:17-20 partly [cf. E], 22, 27 sq. (Well., 19 or 20, 22 or 23, 27-29; Kuen., no trace of J in chs. 12-16; Kitt., 17b-19, 22, 27-29\*); 14:1b, 2 in part, 3 sq.(?), 8 sq., 28(?), 30, 31-33 in part, (?), 39-45 [except *parts* of 39, 41 and 44 = E] (Well., 1 in part, 4, 8 sq. [11-24 = R<sup>d</sup> on a meagre basis of J]; Kuen., *nothing*; Kitt., 1b, 3 sq., 8 sq., 30-33); 16:1b, 2-4 partly, 12-15 in part, 25-34 in part [see E *in loco*] (Well., traces in 1 sq.; 12-14, 15b, 25, 27b, 30, 31b, 33a; [Well.'s "second source" in 16 = P<sup>2</sup>; his P<sup>2</sup> = P<sup>3</sup>(?)]); Kuen., *not a trace*; so Kitt.).

#### 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Moses urges his brother-in-law, Hobab, to accompany them as a guide into the promised land, and, after some reluctance, this request is accepted<sup>†</sup>. The ark of the covenant precedes the camp by a three-days' journey to find them a resting place. The weary nation demands food, and manna is provided.<sup>‡</sup> But the foreign element starts up a cry for meat, which is taken up by the natives, all of whom are tired of the manna. Moses is displeased, and complains to Yahweh that he can no longer endure alone the nation's burden. Yahweh orders him to appoint seventy elders, who shall assist him; and he also promises meat, 'with a vengeance' 'for a whole month they shall get nothing but meat, till it be loathsome to them.' Moses wonders where so much meat is to come from; but Yahweh only re-affirms his promise. In the meantime the seventy are chosen; and as they all receive a part of Moses' prophetic spirit, two of them remain in the camp 'prophesying.' Joshua considers it a usurpation of his master's office; but Moses serenely replies, 'Would that all the people were prophets.' But the claim of Aaron and Miriam to be equals of Moses, is severely rebuked by Yahweh, who testifies to a closer intimacy with Moses than with any other prophet...||

\* Cf. Dill., III., p. 65, *near the bottom*.

† Cf. Dill., III., p. 78.

‡ This statement is omitted by R, but is plainly implied in Judg. 1:16; 4:11; 1 Sam. 15:5 sq.

§ This is a brief summary of J's part in Ex. 16, which belongs here.

|| There is a break here in the narrative: the prophet does not mention the appointment of the spies.



[The spies are told\*] to examine carefully the country, as to its people, cities and products (it being the time when grapes ripen). They go up to Hebron, where they see giants. They bring back the following report: 'The land is good enough, but the people are mighty, and the cities walled.' In their despair, the Israelites wish 'themselves dead,' and cry for another leader, to return to Egypt. [But Joshua and Caleb say\*], if Yahweh be but pleased with us, we have no reason to fear. [Yahweh, in anger, swears†] that none of the present generation, except Joshua and Caleb, shall enter the promised land. The people receive this with sorrow; and next morning they confess their sin, and prepare to go to the promised place. Moses tells them that it is too late: Yahweh is no longer with them. Not heeding his words, they ascend the mountain-country, and are badly defeated by the natives. Then Dathan and Abiram rebel, Moses sends for them, but they haughtily refuse to come. Moses is greatly incensed, and goes himself to see them, the elders accompanying him. On arriving, he warns the congregation to keep aloof from the wicked. The rebels with their families meet him at the door, and he proclaims that, to demonstrate his divine mission, Yahweh will cause the earth to burst open and swallow them and theirs. The terrible judgment is literally fulfilled, and the people flee in terror from the scene of the catastrophe."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (10:29 *bis*, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36; 11:11, 16, 18 *bis*, 20, 23 *bis*, 24, 25, 29 *bis*; 12:2, 4; 14:3, 8, 9 *bis*, 40, 41, 42, 43 *bis*, 44; 16:15, 28, 29, 30 *bis*, [but also all through E's material in this section].

(2) מולדת (10:30).

(3) נא (10:31; 11:15; 12:6).

(4) כי על-כן (10:31; 14:43).

(5) פוץ (10:35).

(6) רע בעיני (11:10).

(7) מצא חן (11:11, 15).

(8) שים (11:11, 17).

(9) הרה (11:12).

(10) אנכי (11:12 *bis* 21).

(11) ארמה (11:12; 16:30, 31).

(12) מאין (11:13).

(13) הרג (11:15 *bis*).

(14) שטר (11:16).

(15) אהל (11:16, 24, 27; 12:4, 5; 16:26, 27).

(16) ירר (11:17, 25; 12:5; 14:45; 16:30, 33).

(17) אצל (11:16, 25).

(18) למה-זה (11:20; 14:1).

(19) עתה (11:23).

(20) קרה (11:23).

(21) יסף (11:25).

(22) ישם... ישם (11:26).

(23) רק (12:2).

(24) הביט (12:8).

(25) מדוע (12:8).

(26) טף (14:3, 31; 16:27).

(27) איש אל אחיו (14:4).

(28) השכם בבקר (14:40).

(29) מוש (14:44).

(30) פן (16:26, 34).

(31) פצה (16:30).

(32) שאול (16:30, 33).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) משנאים (10:35): cf. Deut. 32:41; 33:11).

(2) אספסף (11:4).

(3) אמן (11:12).

(4) זורא (11:20).

(5) אפס (13:28): cf. 22:35; 23:13; Deut. 15:4.

(6) נאץ (14:11, 23; 16:30): cf. Deut. 31:20; 32:

19.

(7) עפל (14:44): as verb only again in Hab. 2:4.

\* Supplied from other material.

† "Απαξ λέγομενον.

† This is from 14:28.(?)

§ Nowhere else in Hex.

## 4. STYLE OF THE PROPHETS.

[J and E are considered together]: It is characterized by

1) *Stories and Anecdotes*: (1) Invitation to Hobab (10:29-32); (2) dissatisfaction with the manna; (3) election of elders to assist Moses; (4) ecstasy of Eldad and Medad; (5) abundance of quails (ch. 11); (6) Miriam's gossip and punishment (ch. 12); (7) the spies and their report (ch. 13); (8) the people's complaint and Yahweh's judgment (ch. 14); (9) the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram (16).\*

2) *Puns*:† (1) *תבערה* because *בערה* (11:3); (2) *קברות התאוה* because there *קברו* the people *המתאווים* (11:34); (3) *נחל האשכול* because of *האשכול* (13:24).

3) Interest in *archæology* and *geography*: (1) In Hebron dwelt the giants (13:22); (2) "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan of Egypt" (*ibid.*); (3) location of various tribes (13:29 [= E]); (4) a detailed account of the manna and its uses (11:7 sq. [= E]).

4) *Vividness, description* and *poetic touches*: (1) The story is told through conversation as (a) the request extended to Hobab, and his answer (10:29-32); (b) Moses' appeal to Yahweh, and his reply (11:11-23); (c) Joshua's laconic request, and Moses' noble answer (11:28 sq.); (d) the instructions to the spies (13:17b-20a); (e) the haughty reply of Dathan and Abiram (16:12-14); (2) human nature displayed: (a) some of the crowd start the cry for meat, then all join (11:4); (b) the *oriental* character of the people is seen by their demonstrativeness: they *weep* easily and abundantly (11:4b, 10a, 13b, 18a, 20b; 14:1b); (c) the truly great man is never jealous (11:28 sq.); (d) Miriam and Aaron criticise Moses' foreign marriage (12:1 [= E]); (e) the people wish "themselves dead" (14:2b); (f) the faithful believe, "if God is with us, we have no reason to fear anything" (14:8 sq.); (g) the mind of the mob is fickle: "Back to Egypt!" is the cry to-day; "Forward to the promised land!" is the demand next morning (14:4, 40); (3) times and seasons noticed, (a) "when the dew fell . . . in the night" (11:9 [= E]); (b) "now the time was that of the first-ripe grapes" (13:20b); (c) "the people wept that night" (14:1b); (d) "they arose early in the morning" (14:40a); (4) expressive phrases: (a) "thou shalt be to us instead of eyes" [= a guide] (10:31b); (b) "but now our soul is dry" (11:6a); (c) "Have I conceived all this people? have I brought them forth, that thou shouldst say unto me, carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing-father carrieth the sucking-child?" (11:12); (d) "Shall *all the fish of the sea* be gathered for them, to suffice them?" (11:22b); (e) "while the flesh was yet between their teeth, etc." (11:33a); (f) "let her not be as one dead" (12:12a); (g) the enormous size of the cluster of grapes is indicated by the phrase, "They bare it on a staff between two" (13:23a); (h) "we were in our own sight as grasshoppers"

\* The last three, though found also in P, are so much more vivid as they are found in the prophets, that it is only in them that the *events* become *stories*: in P, they are "dry facts."

† These are all in E's material.

pers, and so we were in their sight" (13:33a); (i) "they are bread for us" (14:9a); (j) "wilt thou put out the eyes of these men?" (16:15b); (k) "I have not taken an ass [= anything] from them" (16:15b); (l) "if Yahweh shall create a creation" [= work a miracle] (16:30a); (5) vivid scenes: (a) the quail, lying broad and thick in every direction, are zealously gathered in heaps by the people for two days in succession (11:31 sq.); (b) the catastrophe of the rebels (16:32-34); (6) cognate Infinitive or Accusative used: (a) הִתְאוּ הָאוֹה (11:4a); (b) הִרְגֵּנִי הָרֶג... (11:15a); (c) וַיִּשְׁטְחוּ... וַיִּשְׁטְחוּ (11:32b); (d) יֵרֶק יֵרֶק (12:14a); (e) תִּשְׁתַּרְר... הִשְׁתַּרְר (16:13b); (f) יָכֹל נוֹכַל (*ibid*); (g) עָלָה נִעְלָה (13:30b); (h) פָּקַדְתָּ... פִּקְרָה (16:29a); (i) בְּרִיאָה יִבְרָא (16:30a); (7) emphatic accumulation; (a) "we remember 'the fish, the cucumbers, and the melons, etc., etc.,'" (11:5); (b) "not one day, nor two days, nor five days, etc., etc." (11:19); (c) and the people rose up 'all that day, and all the night, and all the next day'" (11:32a); (d) the series of questions put to the spies (13:18-20a); (8) a short song is inserted: Moses' formulas at the departure and arrival of the ark (10:35 sq.).

5) *Religious instruction*: (1) the prophet by prayer interceded for the people (11:2); (2) unspiritual Israel would rather be a slave in Egypt, with plenty to eat, than a child of God, with some slight privation (11:4-6, 10a, 20b); (3) the wish of the true prophet is that God's spirit may be a universal gift (11:29); (4) God is no respecter of persons: Miriam, though a prophetess herself [Ex. 15:20a], is punished for her evil tongue (ch. 12); (5) Yahweh goes before his people to find for them a resting-place (10:33b); (6) the highest form of prophecy is personal communion with God (12:6-8).

#### 5. MATERIAL.

[Cf. under E, where *both* prophets are compared.]

#### 6. THEOLOGY OF J AND E.

1) Yahweh is near to man: (1) His presence proceeds before his people to find a suitable stopping place (10:33b); (2) Moses is intimate with him, if not his equal (11:11-15; 11:21 sq.; 12:7 sq.).

2) There is an element of vengeance, almost of spite, in Yahweh's punishment: meat will be furnished, till it become loathsome (11:18-20); (2) even when the people repent, he does not revoke his sentence (14:39-42).

3) Yahweh desires to display his power; hence the enormous quantity of meat (11:21-23).

4) Yahweh's spirit is something transferable from one person to another (11:17, 25).

5) Yahweh is anthropomorphically conceived: (1) the usual phrase, "And his anger was kindled," occurs many times (11:1b, 10b, 33b; 12:9); (2) as usual, he "comes down" to install the elders (11:17, 25).

6) Yahweh uses natural means: (1) a wind brings the quails (11:31); (2) the rebels are swallowed up by the earth (i. e., an earthquake (?)) (16:32 sq.).



## C. Element of E.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

10:33a (so Kuen.; Well., 33a [שלשת ימים = gloss(?)]; Kitt., 33-36); 11:1-3,7-9,10b~~x~~,30-35 (Well., 1-3(?) [no sure indication of the source], 7-9,18-23,(10b~~x~~) belong to a source resembling E, combined here with J; [vs. 14-17,24b-29 = E<sup>2</sup>]; Kuen., 11:1-3, then 10:33b-36 [11:14,16 sq.,24b-30 = E<sup>2</sup>, the Judæan editor of E; vs. 18-24a (31-33 in part) = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., *like Dill.*, but omitting v. 35); 12:1,2 partly, 3a,5 in part, 9-15 mostly [v. 16 = R] (Well., 1a,2-15 = E<sup>2</sup> [1b and 16 = R]; Kuen., ch. 12 = E<sup>2</sup>, exc. v. 1 = R(?); Kitt., 1-15); 13:17b in part, 18,20 partly, 23 sq.,29-31,32b,33 (Well., 17b-24 [exc. v. 21], 27-31,33 [19 = 20; 23 = 22]; Kuen., 17b-20,22-24,26b-31; Kitt., 20,23 sq.,26b~~x~~,30 sq.,32c,33); 14:1 sq. in part, 23 partly, 24,25b,39-41 in part, 44 partly [11-23 = R] (Well., 3 sq.,8 sq.,11-25,30-33,39-45 = JE; 11-24 = R<sup>d</sup>; 2a,3,25,30-33,39-45 = a "second source;" the other cases of reduplication are due to R<sup>a</sup>; Kuen., 1b,2b,4,8 sq.,(11-25),39-45 [but expanded and recast by Judæan editor of E, especially vs. 11-25]; Kitt., 39-45); 16:1-4\* [only traces, as 1b and parts of 2-4]; traces in 12-15 [as 14a~~x~~,15b] (14a~~x~~ and 15a = J); also traces in 25-34 [28 sq.,32a = E; 30 sq.,33a = J] (Well.,\* traces in 1 sq., and vs. 3-5,15a,23 sq.,27a,32,33b,34 [exc. דתן ואבירם in 24 and 27 = R] belong to the "second source" (= X); [28 sq.,31a = J or X; v. 26 (exc. ידבר אל הערה = X) = R<sup>d</sup>; vs. 6 sq. = R] vs. 13 sq.,28 sqq. recast by R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen. (I, p. 154, and xii.), 16:1 [from דתן ואבירם (ויקמו), 12-14\*,15b,25 sq.,27b-32a,33,34(?); Kitt., 1b,2a~~x~~,12-14,15b,25 sq.,27b-31,34(?)].

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"And †they move from the 'mountain of God' ‡ a distance of three days; and the people begin to complain. Hence a fire from God breaks out in the community; but Moses' prayer stops it.—[Dissatisfaction with‡] the manna, their daily food—which they use in many ways, and which is both beautiful and palatable—displeases God.‡ A wind from him brings quails from the sea in enormous quantities, which the people gather in heaps. But at the very first meal, God‡ sends a plague over the people; and so the place is named *Kibroth-hattaavah*. From there they go to Hazeroth, where Miriam and Aaron criticise Moses' marriage with a Cushite woman. God‡ is displeased, and Miriam is afflicted with leprosy. Aaron intercedes with Moses, and the latter prays to God‡ to heal her; after seven days she is restored.—Now, Moses sends [spies‡] to examine the promised land. They obtain some specimens of fruit from the Valley of Eshcol; [but bring back the report‡] that there are too many nations to be conquered,

\* Wellhausen's analysis of this chapter is not clear.

† "And" or "but" is a continuation of Ex. 18:27 (which, according to Dill. and Kitt., belongs just before this (= after Ex. 33:11): "Jethro went to his country, but they went on their march."

‡ *Yahweh* in the text, all through the section.

§ Supplied from other material.

Caleb (one of them) alone maintaining that they will surely succeed. The people complain, [and God swears] that none but Caleb, his servant, shall see the promised land. He orders them to turn and move to the wilderness along the Red Sea."

## 3. LANGUAGE OF E.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) חרה אף (11:1, 10b, 33; 12:9).
- (2) צעק (11:2; 12:13).
- (3) התפלל (11:2).
- (4) טחן (11:8).
- (5) ירר (11:9 bis; 12:5).
- (6) טרם (11:33).
- (7) על אודות (12:1; 13:24).
- (8) אהל (12:10).
- (9) שלג (12:10).
- (10) כי [= I beseech thee] (12:11).
- (11) נא (12:11, 12, 13 bis).
- (12) סגר (12:14, 15).
- (13) אשכל (13:23 bis, 24 bis).
- (14) שית (12:11).

## 2) NEW WORDS—MOSTLY RARE.

- (1) כמתאונן\* (11:1).
- (2) שקע\* (11:2).

- (3) שוט\* (11:8).
- (4) ידון (11:8).
- (5) פרוור\* (11:8).
- (6) לשר\* (11:8): only again in Ps. 32:4.
- (7) שטח\* (11:32 bis).
- (8) דבר ב. [= speak against] (12:1, 8): cf. 21:5; also Ps. 50:20.
- (9) כשית\* (12:1 bis).
- (10) ענו (12:3).
- (11) ואל\* [= to act foolishly] (12:11).
- (12) ירק [= spit] (12:14 bis): only again in Deut. 25:9.
- (13) כלם\* (12:14).
- (14) הסה\* (13:30).
- (15) מלא אחר (14:24): cf. 32:11, 12; Deut. 1:36; Josh. 14:8, 9, 14.

## 4. STYLE.

[See under J, pp. 268, 269.]

## 5. MATERIAL.

Both J and E are here considered:—

1) *Remarks*: (1) While P is quite distinct from the prophetic material (as shown above), the line between J and E, in this section, can be drawn with difficulty; (2) the reason for this is obvious: in P, besides the legal and priestly *purpose*, running all through his narrative, we have also his peculiar vocabulary, style and theological conceptions to guide us; whereas, the prophets present but few such distinctions; (3) the name of the Deity, quite decisive by itself in previous material, is here יהוה all through; (4) we are, therefore, left entirely to internal evidence: could the narrative, as it stands, emanate from *one* source?

2) *Duplicates*: (1) 10:29-32 resembles in many respects E's story in Ex. 18; in both (a) Moses meets a near relative of his wife; ‡ (b) he relates to him the condition and prospect of the nation; (c) something is said about taking advice from

\* Nowhere else in Hexateuch.

† "Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

‡ In fact, some would make *Hobab* Moses' father-in-law, a different name being used by E; cf. Dill. on Ex. 2:18.

this relative; and (d) about his return to his own land; (2) 11:7-9 is a condensed account of manna, somewhat like Ex. 16; (3) that 11:31-35 is another version of 11:18-20, will appear below; (4) the composite character of ch. 12 will be shown below; (5) 14:23 sq. is practically the same as 14:30.

3) *Differences*: (1) Comparing 10:29-32 with Ex. 18, we find (a) Hobab instead of Jethro (a different person, or, at least, another name); (b) that here Moses dwells on the nation's future (10:29); there, on its past (Ex. 18:8); (c) here his *guidance* in the wilderness is *solicited* (10:31); there, his *advice* is *offered* (Ex. 18:17-23); (d) here Moses would fain keep him from returning home (10:30 sq.); there, Moses sends him away (Ex. 18:27); (e) the story here is very brief and incomplete, without beginning or end;\* (2) brief as the manna account here is, it differs in *two* particulars from the story in Ex. 16: (a) its taste is here connected with olive oil (11:8b); there, with honey (Ex. 16:31); (b) here it descends *upon* the *evening* dew (11:9); there, *after* the *morning* dew (Ex. 16:14); (3) 11:19 sq. says, they are to eat meat for a whole month, till they become sick of it; but, according to 11:33, at the very first meal they were *stricken down by a plague*; (4) in ch. 12, we note (a) in v. 1, Miriam and Aaron criticise Moses for marrying a Cushite; in v. 2, for his unwarranted superiority over them; (b) vs. 6-8 completely answer the *last* objection, but have no bearing on the marriage question; (5) God's decree in 14:23 sq. excepts only *Caleb*, which corresponds with the presentation in 13:30; but 14:30 excepts also Joshua, in harmony with 14:8 sq. [cf. under P, "material," 2) (3) and note, p. 266].

4) *Incongruities*: (1) Some of the *differences*, especially (2) (b) and (3), amount to inconsistencies; (2) no author would begin the story of the cry for meat, fraught as it was with such disastrous and important effects, as a mere appendix to a passing notice of Taberah [11:4 joined to 1-3]; (3) much less would an author (and surely not Moses, who in writing it must have lived through all the horrors of the event once more) digress to describe the beauties of the manna (11:7-9) at such a critical point; (4) 12:5, if omitted, leaves the narrative consistent and natural; but it sounds decidedly strange that Yahweh should *speak* with Moses, Aaron and Miriam (12:4), and then "come down" (12:5), and then tell them what he wants (12:6) [Where was he when he *first* spoke? If he could say anything without descending, why not say all that he has to say?]; (5) how does the fact that Moses is in direct communion with Yahweh justify his improper(?) marriage? (12:7 sq., in connection with v. 1); (6) could Moses have been "the meekest of all men," if he wrote 12:3?

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

[Cf. under J, p. 271.]

---

\* We are not told how, when or where Hobab came to Moses; nor of his final consent.



## XXII. NUM. 20:1-27:11.

[*Subjects*: (1) Miriam's death; (2) water from the rock; (3) diplomatic negotiations with Edom; (4) Aaron's death, and Eleazer's installation as high priest; (5) the battle at Hormah; (6) the brazen serpent; (7) the conquest over Sihon the Amorite; (8) Balak's fears, and Balaam's prophecies; (9) adultery and idolatry at Shittim; (10) the zeal of Pinehas; (11) the census; (12) the daughters of Zelophehad.]

## A. The Element of P.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

20:1a [to **וַיִּשְׁאָל**], 2,3b,6 sq., 8a\*,10a,12 sq., \*22-29 (*all* agree as to 22-29; but in the story of Meribah, Well. assigns 1a,2,3b,6,9 partly, 12; Kitt., 1a~~8~~,2,6,12; Kuen., 1-13 *in part* [he declines any detailed analysis, because P's account has been welded to another, and has since suffered such considerable alteration as wholly to obliterate the "sin of Moses"]; 21:10 sq. (*so all*, except that Well. adds 4a(?); Kitt. adds 4a~~8~~); 22:1 (*so all*); 25:6-9,14-16,19 [10-13 = P<sup>3</sup>; 17 sq. = R]\* (Well. and Kitt., 6-19; Kuen., 6-15 [16-19 = P<sup>3</sup> or R]; 26 *entire* [except 8-11, and 58-61 = P<sup>3</sup>] (*so all*, except that Well. and Kitt. omit the *exceptions*, and Kuen. excepts only 9-11 [= P<sup>3</sup>], and considers 3 sq. *corrupt*); 27:1-11 (*so all*).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"The Israelites arrive in the first month at the desert of Zin, where they find no water, and so they complain to Moses and Aaron. Yahweh tells Moses that he and Aaron shall speak to the rock, before the congregation, and it shall yield water. [But Moses expresses his doubt about it in the hearing of the congregation,†] and Yahweh decrees that because of their lack of faith, and their failure to glorify him before the people, *they* shall not bring the people into the promised land. Arriving at Mt. Hor, Aaron dies—as decreed—and Eleazar succeeds him as high priest. The people mourn over Aaron thirty days. Their next station is Oboth, whence they move to Iye-Abarim, and finally they encamp in the plains of Moab, on this side of the Jordan. Here a man publicly commits adultery with a Midianitish woman. Pinehas seizes a dagger and stabs both of them on the spot, and thus the plague, which had already destroyed 24,000 people, is stopped. The man was Zimri, a prince of the tribe of Simeon; the woman was Cozbi, the daughter of a prominent chief in Midian." [This led to a war with Midian, whence much booty was obtained, half of which was given to the high priest.‡] Then follows a census by tribes of all males above twenty years of age, the total number being 601,730. "Among these the land is to be divided by lot. The Levites were counted by themselves, not having any land assigned to them. Their

\* Here belongs ch. 31, but in its present form = P<sup>3</sup> (*so all*).

† Supplied from 20:10b, which, though assigned to E, has traces of P in it.

‡ This is a brief summary of ch. 31, which originally belonged here.

census included all males of one month and upwards, and these numbered 23,000. Not a man of those who came out of Egypt lived to see this census. They all died in the wilderness, except Caleb and Joshua. The census being of males exclusively, the family of Zelophehad, in which there were no sons was omitted. Hence the daughters put in a claim for a homestead. They plead their cause well, and Moses lays the matter before Yahweh, who decides that they should receive their father's share of land, and establishes this as a precedent for future emergencies: whenever the head of a family dies without male descendants, his estate is to go to his daughters, or to any relative living."

## 3. LANGUAGE OF P.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) גוע (20:3 *his*, 29).  
 (2) יהוה (20:3, 6, 7, 12, 13, 23, 27; 25:10; 26:1, 4, 9, 52, 65; 27:3, 5, 6, 11).  
 (3) כבוד יהוה (20:6).  
 (4) האסף אל עמיו (20:24).  
 (5) ערת בני' (25:6; 26:2).  
 (6) זרע\* אחרי (25:13).  
 (7) נשיא (25:14, 18; 27:2).  
 (8) בית אב (25:14, 15; 26:2).  
 (9) למשפחותם (26:12, 15, 20, 23, 26, 28, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42 *his*, 48, 50, 57).  
 (10) ארץ כנען [=patriarch's home] (26:19).  
 (11) ילד [in Hiph.] (26:29, 58).

- (12) אש זרה (26:61\*).

- (13) אלה שמות (27:1).

- (14) שאר (27:11).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

None that are characteristic of P. We find, however, four *rare* words:

- (1) זרמח.

- (2) קנה\*.

- (3) דקר.

(4) קנה\*=[female organ]—all in 25:7 sq. But they are evidently used for the sake of precision and accuracy of statement rather than for variety of diction.

## 4. STYLE OF P.

It is marked by

1) *Numbers*: (1) "They mourn over Aaron *thirty days*" (20:29); (2) 24,000 die in the plague (25:9); (3) the tribe of Reuben numbers 43,730 (26:7); (4) Simeon, 22,200 (26:14); (5) Gad, 45,500 (26:18); (6) Judah, 76,500 (26:22); (7) Issachar, 64,300 (26:25); (8) Zebulun, 60,500 (25:27); (9) Manasseh, 52,700 (26:34); (10) Ephraim, 32,500 (26:37); (11) Benjamin, 45,600 (26:41); (12) Dan, 64,400; (13) Asher, 53,400 (26:47); (14) Naphtali, 45,400 (26:50); (15) the children of Israel were 601,730 (26:51); (16) the Levites were 23,000 (26:62).

2) *Stereotyped Formulas*: (1) יהוה אשר צוה יהוה (20:27; 26:4; 27:11); (2) למשפחתם בני' (26:12, 15, 20, 23, 26, 28, 35, 38, 42, 44, 48); (3) אלה משפחת (26:7, 14, 18, 22, 25, 27, 34, 37, 41, 42b, 47, 50, 58).

3) *Precision and exactness*: (1) "they came into the wilderness of Zin in the first month" (20:1); (2) the minutiae about Aaron's death (20:25 sq.); (3) the particulars of Pinehas' act (25:7 sq.); (4) not only are the names of "the man and

\* Though not noticed before, it may be classified as an old word, since it occurs in Lev. 10:1; Num. 3:4.

† Nowhere else in Hexateuch.

‡ "Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

woman" given, but also their parents' names, and their social standing (25:14sq); (5) every time he mentions the daughters of Zelophehad, he gives all their names (26:33; 27:1); (6) the entire genealogy of these daughters is given (27:1).

4) *Repetition*: (1) 21:27b,28a are a tedious rehearsal of the particulars of vs. 25sq.; (2) the repetition of the name of the head of each tribal family, with its corresponding *gentile* name, as חֲצֹרֹן...הַחֲצֹרֹנִי, פְּלִיא...הַפְּלִיא, etc., etc., [sixty-one times in all] is very tiresome (26:5-57); (3) all that is necessary in 26:53-56 is as follows: first three words in 53 + the second word of 55a; then 55b, and 56b—or only eleven words out of thirty-four; (4) all that is really necessary in 27:1, after the statement in 26:33, are the *first three* words, or three out of twenty-three words; (5) 27:7b is not necessary; (6) 27:9b-11a could be easily omitted, since they are all included in שָׂאֲרוּ הַקֶּרֶב אֵלָיו.

#### 5. MATERIAL OF P.

1) *Remarks*: (1) There are only two narratives in P's material, which find parallels in the prophetic stories: (a) the waters of Meribah (20:1-13); (b) Israel's adultery with heathen women, and its penalty (25:1-15); (2) the *first* of these, although interpolated here with a prophetic version,\* is really a duplicate of Ex. 17:2-7; (3) by far the greater part of P's material is peculiar to himself: (a) Aaron's death and Eleazar's succession (20:22-29), especially when taken in connection with the prominence given to Pinehas (25:7sq.), establishes the priestly heredity during Moses' life-time; (b) the census (ch. 26) settles the theocratic division of the promised land, and becomes necessary after the first census (ch. 1), since it is of a new generation (26:64sq.†); (c) the story of Zelophehad's daughters (27:1-5) is clearly introduced only for the sake of the law (27:6-11) for which it serves as a precedent; (4) we may now examine more carefully the two brief statements that are similar to the prophetic accounts, in the usual way.

2) *Duplicates*: (1) In the story of Meribah, P's account is like that of E in the following *essential* features: (a) the people lack water (E = Ex. 17:3a; P = Num. 20:2a); (b) they complain against Moses (E = Ex. 17:3; P = Num. 20:2b,3b); (c) Moses prays (E = Ex. 17:4; P = Num. 20:6); (d) God tells him to obtain water from a rock (E = Ex. 17:5,6a; P = Num. 20:8a); (e) the miracle is performed openly (E = Ex. 17:6b; P = Num. 20:10a); (2) in the account of Israel's adultery, we have the following points in common: (a) it takes place on the borders of Moab (P = 22:1; J = 21:20); (b) the sin is intercourse with heathen women (J =

\*The main points of similarity between the two accounts are as follows: (a) the order of the tribes (both conforming to the division of ch. 2); (b) both are of males above twenty years of age; (c) from both the Levites are excluded; (d) the aggregate number is very nearly the same (cf. 1:46 with 26:51); (e) in both the tribal numbers as well as the total number are never given in units, and except in two cases (out of twenty-four) are given only in hundreds (cf. 1:25; 26:7, as the only exceptions). [The last two points cast considerable doubt on the historicity of these numbers].

† Dill., however, thinks that this is *another* story of E(?)



25:1b; P = 25:6a); (c) the princes suffer the penalty (J = 25:4; P = 25:14); (d) the people themselves also suffer (E\* = 25:5; P = 25:8b,9).

3) *Differences*: (1) In the Meribah account we note the following: (a) the prophets locate it at or near *Rephidim* (= at the beginning of their desert life) (Ex. 17:1b,8); P puts it in the Wilderness of<sup>1</sup> Zin, in *Kadesh*, nearly at the end of the forty years in the wilderness (Num. 20:1a,22 [cf. Num. 33:36b-38, especially 38b]); (b) in P's story Aaron is, of course, associated with Moses all through the affair (Num. 20:2b,6a,8a,10a,12a); the prophets invariably speak only of Moses (J = Ex. 17:2; E = Ex. 17:3,4,5,6b; Num. 20:3a,7,9,10b (יִאמֶר) in the *singular*), 11); (c) E, as usual, produces the water by means of Moses' staff (Ex. 17:5b,6; Num. 20:8a,9a,11a); but according to P, Yahweh instructs them to speak to the rock (Num. 20:8a); (d) according to E, Moses does as commanded (Ex. 17:6b; Num. 20:9); according to P, they draw Yahweh's displeasure upon themselves by their action (Num. 20:12,24b; cf. also Deut. 32:51); (e) according to J, the place was called Meribah (Ex. 17:7); while with P, Meribah is not a proper but a common noun (Num. 20:13; cf. particularly Num. 27:14; Deut. 32:51, where the expression "the water of the strife at Kadesh" is used); (2) the account of heathen adultery presents the following variations: (a) according to J, the sin is very prevalent (25:1b); according to P, only one leader commits it, while the congregation deplores it (25:6, especially 6b); (b) according to J, Moses appeases Yahweh's anger (25:4); according to P, Pinehas (25:7 sq., especially 8b; also v. 11); (c) only P knows of a plague among the people (25:8b,9,19); (d) according to J, the women are Moabites (25:1b); according to P, a Midianite (25:6a,14a,15) [cf. also 31:2a,3b,7,8a].

4) *Incongruities*: (1) Many of the differences enumerated above are really inconsistent one with the other (note particularly (a) and (d) under (1), and (a) and (d) under (2)); (2) the notice of Miriam's death (20:1b) has no point or connection in the story; (3) it is very strange that Yahweh addresses only Moses (20:7), when Aaron also was there (v. 6), and was also to accompany Moses to the rock (8a,10a);† (4) no writer would leave the sin of Moses and Aaron, which was so grievously punished, in such obscurity; (5) why should Yahweh tell Moses to take his staff along, if he wished him only to talk to the rock (20:8a)? (6) if Moses smote the rock, contrary to Yahweh's orders, why did it yield water at all? (7) no original author would have placed 25:14 sq. after 13, but better after v. 6; (8) if Moses executed all the chief men of the nation (25:4a), how did it happen that Zimri (cf. v. 14b) was left (v. 6)?

\* This is the only point in which P's account resembles that of E. It is interesting to note that in the matter of the punishment, P has to a certain degree combined the *two* prophetic statements.

† It is equally noticeable that while the יָדָה attack Moses and Aaron (v. 2b); the קָם quarrel only with Moses (v. 3a).

## 5. THEOLOGY OF P.

Note the following points :

1) The "Tent of Meeting" is (1) the regular place of resort, in trouble, for Moses and Aaron (20:6); (2) the regular place of Yahweh's revelation, when theocratic troubles are to be settled (*ibid.*).

2) Yahweh appears (1) only on rare occasions, as to quell an incipient insurrection (20:6) [the routine affairs are managed by formal commands; cf. 26:1,52; 27:6]; (2) even on these occasions it is only his glory that appears: the Deity is thus kept from direct contact with man.

3) The High Priest is (1) invariably associated with Moses, whenever an important matter of administration comes up (20:2b,6a,8a,10a,23; 26:1; 27:2a); (2) appointed to office, not only by the right of heredity, but by a direct order of Yahweh (20:23-28); (3) installed in office by receiving the special regalia, the official robes, from the preceding high priest (20:26,28).

4) It is a priest who is (1) zealous for Yahweh and his law (25:7,11); (2) instrumental in appeasing Yahweh's wrath against Israel (25:8b,11).

## B. Element of J.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

20:20(?) (Well., 14-21; Kuen., no trace of J; Kitt., no traces except 1a2b [*misplaced*]);\* 21:1-3, 18b-20(?), 25-32(?); Well., 1-3 [*misplaced*], 4 [except first clause], 5-9(?), 12-20(?), 21-31, [32-35 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen., 1-3 [all the rest = E, except 32-35 = R<sup>d</sup>]; Kitt., 1-3; 22:3a,4,5a,7a,17 sq., ויחבש את אתנו in 21(?), 22-35a, [35b = 21b] (Well., 3a,4 sq. in part, 18,21a,22-34,37,39 [וקני מדין in 4 and 7 = R; in v. 5 read בני עמון]; Kuen., 21a,22-34 = J incorporated by E; the rest = E [interpolations in 2-4, and וקני מדין = R conforming to P<sup>2</sup>]; Kitt., 3a,4 [or R from P], 5a,7a,18,21a,22-35a); 23 has no J (so Kuen. and Kitt.; Well., 1-22,24-26 [23 and 27-30 = R<sup>d</sup>]); 24:2-19† [vs. 1‡ and 20-24 = R] (Well., 1 = R<sup>d</sup>; 20-24 = J<sup>2</sup>; Kitt., 2-19,25[20-24 = J<sup>2</sup>; last three words in v. 10 = R<sup>d</sup>]); 25:1b,2,4 (so practically Kitt., Well., 1-5 = J or E; Kuen., 1-5 = E).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"The king of Arad attacks Israel on the way, and takes some captive. So Israel vows to devastate the cities of the enemy, if Yahweh will subject him to Israel. Yahweh complying, they fulfill their vow. Thence (they march‡) to Mat-tanah, thence to Nahaliel and Bamoth, and finally to the valley near Pishgah, in Moab's territory. Here Israel captures and inhabits all the Amorite cities, which belonged originally to Moab. They also seize some neighboring villages, driving

\* It belongs after 21:3.

† Verse 19 may be R(?).

‡ Cf. Dill., III., p. 156 (*top*).

§ Supplied, but not for the sake of the analysis.

out the natives. So Moab, very much alarmed, sends for Balaam, a prophet, to come and curse the people. Balaam answers that even for a house full of gold, he cannot disobey Yahweh. Nevertheless he saddles his ass for the journey, which displeases Yahweh,\* and his angel stands on the way to hinder his passage. The ass, seeing the angel with his sword drawn, turns aside into the field. Balaam, in his blindness, strikes the clairvoyant animal, and urges her back to the road. Then Yahweh's angel places himself in a hollow between two fences. The ass perceiving him, presses to the wall, squeezing Balaam's leg, who strikes her again. The angel then takes his position in a narrow path, where there is no room to turn, and the ass cowers down. This so exasperates Balaam that he beats her with a stick. Now Yahweh 'opens the mouth of the ass,' and she remonstrates with her master for maltreating her. And then the scales are removed from his eyes, and Balaam is informed that the angel was the cause of the animal's fright. He falls to the ground, and is ready to return home, if the angel so desires. But the latter permits him to proceed, provided he be careful to utter only what Yahweh shall order him. When Balaam comes in sight of Israel's camp, the divine influence† prompts him to prophecy nothing but blessing for Israel. Balak, disgusted with his conduct, orders him home. Before departing, Balaam predicts the final conquest of Moab and Edom by Israel. But the people begin to commit adultery with Moab's daughters, which leads to idolatry with Moab's gods. So Yahweh commands the leaders to be hung, that his wrath may be appeased."

## 3. LANGUAGE OF J.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) לָקְרָאת (20:20; 22:34; 24:1).
- (2) יָד חֻזָּקָה (20:20).
- (3) יְהוֹה (21:2,3, [6,7 *bis*, 8, 14, 16; 22:8, 13\*, 18, [19\*] 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31 *bis*, 32, 34, 35; [23:3, 5, 12, 16, 17, 21, 26\*]; 24:1, 6, 11, 13 *bis*; [25:3\*], 4 *bis*).
- (4) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל (21:3).
- (5) שָׁקַף (21:20; 23:28).
- (6) עַל-כֵּן (21:27).
- (7) עֵתָה (22:4, 29, 33; 24:17).
- (8) נָא (22:17).
- (9) חָרָה אָף (22:22, 27; 24:10; 25:4).
- (10) לַחֲץ (22:25 *bis*).
- (11) יֶסֶף (22:25, 26).
- (12) רִבֵּץ (22:27).

- (13) זֶה [used adverbially] (22:28, 32, 33; 24:10).
- (14) הָרָג (22:29, 33).
- (15) אָנֹכִי (22:30, 32).
- (16) קָדַד וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִה (22:31).
- (17) רַע בְּעֵינַי (22:24).
- (18) אָפָם (22:35).
- (19) שִׁית (24:1).
- (20) נִשְׂא עֵינַיִם (24:2).
- (21) חֻזָּה (24:4, 16).
- (22) אָהַל (24:5).
- (23) נֹזַל (24:7).
- (24) נָטַע (24:6).
- (25) אָרַר (24:9).
- (26) מָנַע (24:11).
- (27) חָלַל [= begin] (25:1).

\* אֱלֹהִים in the text; but it is evidently a late change; the Samaritan has יְהוֹה.

† In the text רֹחַ אֱלֹהִים, which means a spiritual endowment [cf. Ex. 31:3; 35:31 (= P), where it refers to mere *genius* or skill in art].

\* Material assigned to E.



## 2) NEW WORDS.

(1) **בֵּת** [= village, suburb] (21:25,32): cf. 32:42; Josh. 15:47.

(2) **מִשְׁלַּל**\* [= a proverb maker] (21:27).

(3) **שִׁבְיָה**\* [= captivity] (21:29).

(4) **קִבָּב** [= curse] (22:17; 24:10): cf. 22:11; 23:8,11,13,25,27 [= E].

(5) **שִׁטְן**\* (22:22,32).

(6) **שָׁלַף** (22:23,31): cf. Josh. 5:13.

(7) **מִשְׁעוֹל** (22:24).

(8) **גִּרְר** (22:24 *bis*): cf. 32:16,24,36.

(9) **הִסְכִּין** (22:30 *bis*).

(10) **יָרִית** (22:32).

(11) **כַּפְעָם כַּפְעָם**\* [= habitually] (24:1).

(12) **נָשָׂא מִשַּׁל** (24:3,15,20,21,23): cf. 23:7,18 [= E].

(13) **סָפַק**\* [= strike together] (24:10).

*Remark.*—Both in J and E the new and rare words occurring in the prophetic paragraphs (as the prophecies of Balaam) are given no consideration, since they cannot be taken as characteristic of the usual style of the prophets.

## 4. STYLE OF J AND E.

It is characterized by

1) *Anecdotes and stories*: (1) Miriam's death (20:1b); † (2) Israel's message to Edom (20:14-21); † (3) successful encounter with the King of Arad (21:1-3); (4) the brazen serpent (21:4-9); † (5) negotiations and battle with Sihon (21:21-31); § (6) Balak and Balaam (22:2-21); § (7) the ass and the angel (22:22-35); (8) Balaam's blessings (23:1-24:19); § (9) idolatry at Moab (25:1-5). §

2) *Poetic passages*: (1) The Song of the Well (21:17b,18a); † (2) the minstrels' celebration of the Amorite's victory over Moab (21:27-30); (3) the prophecies of Balaam (23:7-10,18-24; 24:3-9,15-19). §

3) *Variety of expression*: (1) While Israel's repeated complaint is always the same in substance, "Why have ye brought us out from Egypt into this desert, etc.," yet it is always couched in different phrases (cf., e. g., 20:4 sq. with 21:5, both of which are E; cf. also J, 11:5 sq., which is again different); (2) Israel's messages to foreign powers, asking permission to pass through their territory, though necessarily the same in thought, have yet some verbal variations (cf. 20:17 with 21:22); † (3) Balak's second message, and Balaam's reply to it, differ from the first (cf. 22:6-8 † with 22:17b-19 †); (4) the *three* appearances of the angel are differently and climactically presented (22:22-27); (5) the preparations for, and the results of, Balaam's *two* prophecies, according to E, though identical, are very differently worded (cf. 21:41-22:7a with 22:13-18; and 22:11 sq. with 22:25 sq.).

4) *Puns*: (1) **חֲרָמָה** because **יִחְרָם** (21:3); (2) "thence to **בְּאֵר**, that is the *well*" (21:16 †).

5) *Archæological and geographical allusions*: (1) "Arnon is the boundary of Moab, etc." (21:13b †); (2) "the book of the wars of Yahweh" [probably an ancient *chronicle*, from which, perhaps, our writers received considerable material,

\* Nowhere else in Hexateuch.

† "Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

‡ These points are from E. [Those references which have no mark are J.]

§ Accounts where J and E are interwoven.

and which is nowhere else mentioned] (21:14)\*; (3) "Sihon in a war with Moab's first king takes all his territory" (21:26); (4) "hence say the men of Proverbs" (21:27); (5) "the valley which is in the field of Moab, (to) the top of Pisgah, overlooking the desert" (21:20).

6) *Vividness and description*: (1) The facts are given in conversation: (a) diplomatic transactions between Israel and Edom (20:14b-20\*); (b) Balak's words to Balaam, and the latter's replies (22:5b-8a\*, 16b-19†, 37 sq.\*; 23:11 sq.\*, 25 sq.\*; 24:10-14); (c) God's communications to Balaam (22:9b-12\*, 20\*, 32-35a); (2) human nature displayed: (a) in addressing Edom, Israel lays stress on his brotherly relation, and tries to awaken his sympathy by recalling the Egyptian bondage (20:14b sq.\*); (b) when the calamity came, the sinful people ask Moses to pray for them to God, against both of whom they spoke (21:5, 7\*); (c) Balak flatters Balaam (22:6b\*); (d) he sends the second time a larger and more imposing delegation (22:15); (e) Balaam's brutal treatment of his ass (22:23b, 25b, 27b); (3) descriptive touches: (a) the destructive power of Israel is described to be "as the ox licketh up the grass of the field" (22:4a); (b) the vast number of Israel is described as "covering the eye of the earth" (22:5b, 11a\*); (c) "if Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold" (22:18a); (d) Balaam's exasperation reaches its highest pitch, when he "smites his ass with his staff" (22:27), and says, "If I had a sword in my hand, I would have killed thee" (22:29b); (e) there is almost pathos in the plea of the poor animal, "Am I not thine ass upon which thou hast ridden all thy life long?" (22:30a); (f) it is hardly necessary to call attention to the many similes and metaphors in the purely poetic passages in chs. 23 sq.; (4) vivid particularization: (a) "to bring us to this evil place; it is no place of seed, or figs, or vines, or pomegranates" (20:5b\*); (b) "we will not pass through field or vineyard, neither will we drink of the water of the well" (20:17a\*; 21:22a\*); (5) the time of the day is noticed: (a) Balaam rises *in the morning* (22:13-21\*); (b) God comes to him *in the night* (22:20\*); (c) *in the morning*, Balak takes him to Bamoth-baal (22:41\*); (6) emphatic infinitives and cognate accusatives: (a) וַיֵּשֶׁב...שָׁבִי (21:1b); (b) וַיֵּדֶר...נָדָר (21:2a); (c) נָתַן תֶּתֵּן (21:2b); (d) בָּנֵה אֲבֹנֶיךָ (22:17a; 24:11b); (e) הִסְכֵּן הַסִּכְנִיתִי (22:30a); (f) שְׁלַח יִשְׁלַח (22:37a\*); (g) בִּרְכַּת בְּרַךְ (23:11b\*; 24:10b); (h) יֵכֵל אוֹכֵל (22:38a\*); (i) קֵב תִּקְבְּנוּ...תִּקְבְּנוּ (23:25a\*); (j) תִּבְרַכְנוּ...בִּרְכָּךְ (23:25b\*).

##### 5. MATERIAL OF J.

The material of J will be considered under E. [Cf. pp. 285 sq.]

##### 6. THEOLOGY OF THE PROPHETS.

Both J and E are here considered:

1) Man is familiar with the Deity: (1) Israel makes a bargain with Yahweh,

\* These points are from E. [Those references which have no mark are J.]

† Accounts where J and E are interwoven.

"If thou wilt deliver this people into my hands, then I will devote their cities" (21:2); (2) speaking against God is no more blasphemy than speaking against Moses: they are the same (21:5a,7a\*) [cf. 12:10, where speaking against Moses exclusively is punished as severely]; (3) Balaam is indeed respectful, yet perfectly familiar (chs. 22 sq.): (a) he expects God to visit him any night (22:8,19\*); (b) he is not at all disconcerted when he discovers the presence of the angel.

2) God's revelations are as informal now as in the patriarchal period. (1) Though we find occasional references in the prophetic material to the "Tent of Meeting" and the "Ark of the Covenant" (as Ex. 33:7-9 [= E]; Num. 10:33b [= J]), yet God's communications are in no way particularly connected with these (20:7\*; 21:7b sq.\*; 25:4); (2) he not only comes to Balaam in dreams, but he also meets him in various places (22:9,20; 23:4,16\*); (3) he evidently receives the sacrifices of the latter wherever they are offered (23:1-5,14-16\*).

3) An image of a serpent, as a symbol of God,† is made by Moses, under God's direction (21:8 sq.\*). [This is somewhat akin to Jeroboam's bulls at Bethel, which were originally only symbols of Yahweh worship; and as such were tolerated by the prophets who brought about the division of the kingdom.]

4) Revelation and prophecy are not limited to Israel: Balaam, a Gentile (Ammonite(?)), (1) has frequent communion with God (20:9-12\*,20\*,31-35; 23:5\*,16\*; 24:4,16); (2) makes a contribution to *Jewish* prophecy, which forms the basis of the wonderful and beautiful prophecies we have to-day (23:7-10\*,18-24\*; 24:3-9,15-19).

### C. Element of E.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

20:1b,3a,4 sq.,7, first three words and ~~ba~~ in v. 8,9 [= R], 10b\*,11,14-19,21 (Well., 1b,3a,4 sq., and 7-13 [8\*,10\*] = X; 14-21 = J; Kuen., a story of E at the basis of 20:1-13, traceable in vs. 4 sq., and of 9 and 11; with this P<sup>2</sup> was combined, but the whole account has since been so altered as to obliterate the "sin" of Moses and Aaron [cf. 20:24; 27:14; Deut. 32:50]; Kitt., 3-5,7-11,13 (many touches of P's language), 14-21); 21:4-9 [exc. **מהר ההר** in v. 4 = R], 12-18a, 21-24 [reading **יעזר** for **עי**, with LXX.] [18b-20 and 25-32\* = R from another source (J(?)); 33-35 has been imported by R<sup>d</sup> from Deut. 3:1-4] (Well. 4b-9(?),12-20(?) [21-31 = J; 32-35 = R<sup>d</sup>]; so Kuen. practically, but adding vs. 21-31 [4a = R]; Kitt., 4a,b,5-9,12 sq. (cf. Deut. 10:6 sq.), 14-30† [31-35 = R<sup>d</sup>]; 22:2-21 [exc. 3a,4,5a,7a,17 sq., and perhaps **ויהבש את אתונו** in v. 21 (= J)], 36-41 (Well., 2-21 [exc. **זקני מדין** = R, and 3a,4 sq. in part, and 18 = J], 35-41 [exc. 37 and 39

\* These points are from E. [References with no mark are from J.]

† This was the idea in the healing efficacy of the brazen serpent; the sufferer looked to God through it.

‡ Verses 21-26 are not given in Kitt.'s foot-notes; but see his text, I., p. 193, where the material is incorporated.



= J]; Kuen., 2-21 [exc. traces of R in 3 sq. and 7], 35-41 [21a, 22-34 = J incorporated by E]; Kitt., 2, 3b, 5-17 [exc. touches in 5 and 7], 19, 21b, 35b, 36-38, 40; 23:1-26, 27 sq. partly (?) [28(27)-30 = R] (Well., *Dill.*'s E in this chapter = J; Kuen. gives the entire chapter to E; Kitt., 1-22, 24 sq. [vs. 23 and 26 sqq. = R<sup>d</sup>]); 24:25(?) [20-24 = R] (Well., *all* exc. vs. 1 and 20-24 = R<sup>d</sup>, and *Dill.*'s E = J; Kuen., *all*, exc. 20-24 = E<sup>2</sup>; Kitt., no E in 24\*); 25:1a, 3, 5 (Well., 1-5 = JE [= E or J]; Kuen., 1-5 = E [see XVIII.]; Kitt., 3, 5).

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

"The people settle at Kadesh, where Miriam dies and is buried. They revive the old complaint: Why have they been taken from Egypt to that bare spot, where there is no grain, fruit or water? Moses is directed to take the staff, and produce water from the rock. He does as he is bidden; while rebuking the people, he smites the rock twice, and an abundance of water comes forth.—Then Moses sends messengers to the king of Edom, telling him of Israel's experience in and out of Egypt, and asking permission for a quiet passage through his realm. Edom flatly refusing, they circumvene his land along the Red Sea, which makes the people very impatient, and again they murmur against God and Moses. God† sends venomous serpents, which kill many of them. At this they repent, and Moses intercedes for them. God† tells him to make a fiery serpent of bronze, and to put it on a pole, so that those bitten may look at it and be healed. Moses complies, and the remedy is very effective. They then proceed to the valley of Zered, thence to Arnon, and finally to Beer, where water is given them.—Then Israel sends messengers to Sihon, king of the Amorites, requesting a peaceful passage through his kingdom. He replies by meeting them with an army; but he is utterly defeated, and the conquerors take possession of his dominion. Balak, the Moabite, seeing what Israel has done to the Amorite, is greatly distressed. He tells [Balaam‡]: a people has come out of Egypt, darkening the world, and now they are opposite me. Come, I beg of you, and curse them for me, perchance, I may smite them and drive them off. Balaam tells the messenger to stay over night, that he may get word from God.† God comes to him, and asks who the men are. Balaam, telling him their errand, is commanded not to go, nor to curse the people. So he dismisses the embassy. But Balak sends a larger and worthier delegation, [who are also invited‡] to remain over night. This time God permits him to go, with the command that he shall do only what he shall tell him. Balak comes out to meet Balaam, and mildly upbraids him for his first refusal. Balaam replies, Even now that I am here, I am under God's absolute control. Balak makes a feast for Balaam and his suite, and next morning he takes him up to Bamoth-Baal to afford him a view of the enemy. Seven altars are erected, upon

\* Cf. Kitt., I., p. 194.

† Yahweh in the text.

‡ Supplied from another source.

which both sacrifice bullocks and rams, and Balaam then retires for meditation. God meets him, and inspires him to utter a eulogy on Israel. Balak, disappointed, takes him to another place, and again builds seven altars and sacrifices upon them. But again only blessing upon Israel is the result. So Balaam returns home, and Balak likewise goes his way.—The Israelites now dwell in Shittim, and fall into idolatry. To appease God's anger, Moses orders the judges of Israel to execute the idolaters under their respective jurisdiction."

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) תִּלְאָה (20:14).  
 (2) צֶעַק (20:16).  
 (3) נָא (20:17; 22:6,19; 23:13).  
 (4) פֶּן (20:18).  
 (5) לִקְרֹאת (20:18; 21:23; 22:36; 23:3).  
 (6) רַק (20:19).  
 (7) מֵאֵן (20:21; 22:13,14).  
 (8) נָתַן [= permit] (20:21; 21:23; 22:13).  
 (9) דַּבֵּר בִּי... דַּבֵּר [= speak against] (21:5,7).  
 (10) אֱלֹהִים (21:5; 22:9,10,12,20,22 [= J(?)], 38; 23:4).  
 (11) הִתְפַּלֵּל (21:7 *bis*).  
 (12) הִבִּית (21:9; 23:21).  
 (13) עֵל-כֵּן (21:14).  
 (14) שָׁעַן (21:15,19).  
 (15) אֵן (21:17).  
 (16) חִפֵּר (21:18).  
 (17) כִּרָּה (21:18).  
 (18) עֵתָה (22:6,11,19,38).  
 (19) אֹוִלִי (22:6,11; 23:3).  
 (20) אָרַר (22:6 *three times*, 12; 23:7).  
 (21) גִּרַּשׁ (22:6,11; 23:3).  
 (22) לֹוִן (22:8).  
 (23) קִבֵּב (22:11; 23:8,11,13,25 *bis*).  
 (24) יִסֵּף (22:15,19).

- (25) מִנֵּעַ (22:16).  
 (26) אֶמְנָם (22:37).  
 (27) שִׁים (22:38; 23:5,12,16).  
 (28) כְּזֹכֶחַ\* (23:1,2,4 *bis*, 14 *bis*).  
 (29) עֹלָה [= sacrifice] (23:2,4,14,30).  
 (30) עֹלָה\* (23:3,6,15,17).  
 (31) קָרָה (23:3,4,15,16).  
 (32) צֹוֹר (23:9).  
 (33) הֵן (23:9,24).  
 (34) אָפַס (23:13).  
 (35) הֶאֱזִין (23:18).  
 (36) עָמַל (23:21).  
 (37) נָחַשׁ (23:23).  
 (38) חָרָה אָף (25:3).  
 (39) הִרְגַּ (25:5).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

- (1) זְמַסְלָה (20:19).  
 (2) זְמָכָר [= price] (20:19): only again Prov. 31:10.  
 (3) אֶשְׁרֵר (21:15): cf. Josh. 10:40; 12:3,8; 13:20; also Deut. 3:17; 4:49.  
 (4) זְשָׁפִי (23:3).  
 (5) זְנַצְמוֹר (25:3,5): only again Ps. 106:28.  
 [Cf. *Remark*, under J, p. 63.]

## 4. STYLE.

[See under J, pp. 281 sq.]

## 5. MATERIAL.

[J and E are here considered, being compared and contrasted]:

1) *Single accounts*: (1) from E alone we have (a) a fragmentary account of the waters of Meribah, or of a version of *Moses' sin* (about which the prophets must have made some mention, as can be inferred from Deut. 1:37; 3:26; 4:21),

\* In P used only *technically*, in connection with *established worship*.

† Nowhere else in Pentateuch.

‡ Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

§ יהוה in vs. 4,7,9, is due probably to the fact that this fragment combined with P's *materia* [cf. under P, 5, 1 (1)].

(b) the story of the messengers to Edom (20:14-21); [That it is from E, notwithstanding the יהוה in 20:16, is attested (a) by the reference to God's angel (20:16); and (β) from the allusion in Jud. 11:17, which shows the Ephraimitic origin and currency of the tradition.]; (c) the incident of the "brazen serpent" (21:4-9), attested to be E's (a) by the words "to compass the land of Edom" (21:4a), a reference to 20:21; (β) by the presence of ארזים in v. 5; (γ) it is hardly proper for the strict Yahwist to tell such a story [cf. 2 Kgs. 18:3 sq., where it is enumerated among the virtues of Hezekiah that he destroyed it]; (2) from J alone comes the story of Hormah (21:1-3).

2) *Duplicate accounts*: (1) We have two presentations (beside that of P, 21:10 sq.) of Israel's itinerary to Moab (21:13-15, and 18b-20); (2) 21:25 + 31 equal, in thought, 21:24b; (3) 22:3b = 3a; (4) 22:35b = 21; (5) there are also two distinct presentations of God's attitude towards Balaam's going to Balak (which, however, will best appear under the following heads of *Differences*, etc.); (6) the final permission, however, is *identical* in both writers (20:20b, and 35a); (7) the two sets of Balaam's prophecies will also appear clearly further on; (8) 25:3a is but another statement of v. 2.

3) *Differences in the double stories*: (1) according to E, Israel reaches Moab's boundary after Nahal-Zered (21:12 sq); according to J, after Bamoth (21:21); (2) according to J, Moab makes an ally of Midian\* (22:4,7); but in the transactions of Balaam with the envoys, not a word is said about Midianites (22:8b,10 [in connection with 9b],13a,14a,21b); (3) we may also note that J speaks of the *elders* of Moab (22:7a); while E invariably refers to the *princes* of Moab (22:8b,13a,14a,15b,21b); (4) according to E, God gives his permission during his meeting with Balaam in the night (22:20); according to J, Yahweh's angel, after repeatedly vexing Balaam, next day allows him to go (22:22-35); (5) the prophetic spirit comes upon Balaam, according to E, by *retirement* on his part when he meets God (23:3b,4a, and 15b,16a); according to J, it comes spontaneously (24:2b,3a, and 14b,15a); (6) E's introduction to each prophecy differs according to the occasion and thought of the prophecy (cf. 23:7b sq., with 18b-20); but J has an elaborate formula in both which is quite similar (cf. 24:3b sq., with 15b sq.); (7) with J, idolatry is the *result* of adultery (25:1b sq.); E says nothing about adultery, except as it is implied in the worship of Peor(?) [cf. Hosea 9:8b(?)] (25:3); (8) the penalty for this sin, is, according to J, the execution of the *leaders* by *Moses* (25:4); according to E, the killing of the *sinner*s by the *leaders* (25:5).

4) *Incongruities*: (1) 21:18b has not only no *grammatical* or *logical* connection with what precedes, but is also *contradictory* to the statement made in 16a: Israel is in *Beer* not in a desert, concerning which some parenthetical remarks are made,

\* This point is only according to Dill.; other critics, as Well. and Kuen., consider the words וּקְנִי מִדִּין an interpolation to suit P's material in 25:6 sqq.



and we should expect the author to begin **וּמִכָּאָר**, etc.; (2) how many times, and by what route, did Israel come to Moab? (cf. 21:11, with 12b sq., and 20); (3) 22:4b sounds very strange, after all that has been said in vs. 2-4a: the two words **מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב** after 2a would have been very easy and natural; (4) it is impossible to find anything in Balaam's conduct, as reported in 22:8-21, that would justify God in being angry with him (v. 22a); it is especially contradictory to the presentation in v. 20, where God gives him full permission to go; (5) in fact, we cannot see that there was anything whatever gained by the repeated interferences of the angel, and the extraordinary transformation of the ass into a personal being, since v. 35 is practically identical in its instructions with v. 20; (6) 24:1 speaks of Balaam's customary use of enchantments; but according to 23:4a, 5a, and 16, he used none in his prophecies recorded in ch. 23, and the force of the remark is entirely lost, and is surely out of place at this stage of the proceedings. We must, then, find an entirely new account in ch. 24; (7) this difficulty is greatly enhanced by 23:29 sq.: if Balaam has decided to prophesy extemporaneously, why should he instruct Balak to build the altars and offer sacrifices, just as before? (8) but, furthermore, how could he use **נְחֻשִׁים**, when he praises Jacob for **לֹא-נִחַשׁ** (23:23)? (9) if special communion with God (23:3b, 4a; 15b, 16a) was necessary for the utterance of the first two prophecies (23:9 sq., and 21-24), surely the *last* one (24:17-19) needed it, since it is *Messianic* (in the *broad* sense, at least); (10) if Yahweh ordered Moses to hang the leaders of the people (25:4), why should *he* [= Moses] instruct the judges to kill the people (25:5)?

5) *Difficulties* in the way of the *analysis*: (1) the unsatisfactory use of the names of the Deity; (a) Yahweh is the prevailing name (**אלהים** occurring but *nine* times in the entire section); this is, however, more easily explained on the R-hypothesis than by any other; (b) Elohim occurs twice (22:22; 24:2) in J's material; but this has already been explained [cf. foot-notes on p. 280]; (2) there are a few omissions which must be supplied in one document from another; but, as the "synopses" show, these are as unimportant as they are few.

#### 6. THEOLOGY.

[See under J, pp. 282 sq.]

### XXIII. THE REMAINING HISTORICAL MATERIAL.

[The passages considered are as follows: (1) Deut. 32:48-52 (= Num. 27:12-14 = R or P<sup>3</sup>); (2) Num. 27:15-23; (3) Num. 32:1-33:56 + Deut. 1:3; (4) Deut. 31:14-34:10.—These passages treat of the following subjects: (1) Moses' penalty; (2) appointment of Joshua as Moses' successor; (3) settlement of Reuben and Gad on this side of the Jordan; (4) sketch of the route of the march in the wilderness; (5) injunctions with regard to their settlement in Canaan; (6) Moses' poetic testament; (7) Moses' parting benediction; (8) Moses' death.]

## A. Element of P.

## 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

Deut. 32:48-52 [except glosses in vs. 49 and 52. The passage is a repetition of Num. 27:12-14 (which is, according to Dill., a copy from Deut. by P<sup>3</sup> or R)]; Num. 27:15-23 (Well. and Kuen., Num. 27:12-23 [considering the passage in Deut. a repetition (by R or P<sup>2</sup> himself) of Num. 12-15]; so also Kitt.); Num. 32:1a [to יג], 2b,4a,20-22\*,28-30,18 sq.,40(?) [therewith probably Josh. 13:15-19,23-27\*, 28,29b,32 (cf. Josh. *in loco*.)] (Well., 16-19 [worked over], 24 [= 16], 28-32; Kuen., P<sup>2</sup> underlies 1-5,16-32 [6-15 = P<sup>3</sup>], but R has so thoroughly digested his material that nothing more can be said; Kitt., 2,4,18-22,28-32,40 [לכני-ג... יסף] in v. 33 = R]; Num. 33:1-49 [except 8 sq.,14-17\*,40,49 = R] (Well. and Kuen., = R); 34:1a [to נבר], 5\*,7a,8 sq. (Well. and Kuen., 1a,7a(?),8 sq.; Kitt., 1a,7a,8 sq. [5 = J]).

*Remark.*—Num. 33:50 sq.,54, though in this section, really belongs, with ch. 34, etc., to the P code, and is therefore omitted here.

## 2. SYNOPSIS.

“Moses is bidden to take a farewell look at the promised land, which, like Aaron, he is not to enter, because of the transgression at Kadesh. Moses then prays for a successor; and Joshua is appointed, with ‘laying on of hands,’ in the presence of Eleazar and the whole congregation, to take charge of affairs.—Now, the Reubenites and the Gadites had much cattle; they desire, therefore, the land already conquered as their share. Moses agrees to let them have it, on condition that they accompany their brethren across the Jordan, and assist them in conquering their enemies. The contract is made in the hearing of Eleazar and Joshua, and accepted by Reuben and Gad. Moses also allots Gilead to Machir, son of Manasseh.”—[Here comes an itinerary of the stations in the wilderness.]—“In the fortieth year, on the first day of the eleventh month, Moses delivered his final message to the people from Yahweh, and then ascended the mountain Nebo, and died there according to Yahweh’s command, at the age of 120 years. The children of Israel mourned for him thirty days, and then followed Joshua as their leader.”

## 3. LANGUAGE OF P.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (Num. 27:12,15,16,17,18,21,22,23; 32:4, 20,21, 22 *three times*, 29; 33:2, 4 *bis*, 38; Deut. 1:3; 32:48; 34:5 *bis*, 9).

(2) .... האסף אל עמ-ם (Num. 27:13; Deut. 32:50 *bis*).

(3) קרש (27:14; Deut. 32:51).

(4) ערת (בני) ישראל (Num. 27:20; 32:4).

(5) נשיא הערה (Num. 32:2).

(6) כָּבֵשׁ (Num. 32:22,29).

(7) אחרונה (Num. 32:22,29; Deut. 32:49).

(8) ראש אבות (Num. 32:28).

(9) מסע (Num. 33:1,2 *bis*).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

Since this is the last section, no new words are considered, because they can no longer be illustrated by future material. This applies especially to J and E; but for the sake of uniform treatment we omit them also in P.

## 4. STYLE OF P.

It is marked by

1) *Stereotyped phrases*: (1) **וידבר...לאמר** (Deut. 32:48; Num. 27:15; 33:50); (2) **כאשר צוה יהוה** (Num. 27:22; Deut. 34:9); (3) **האסף אל עמי\*** (Num. 27:13 *bis*; Deut. 32:50 *bis*); (4) **על פי יהוה** (Num. 33:2a,38a; Deut. 34:5b); (5) **ויסעו...ויחנו** (Num. 33:5,6,7,10,11,12,13,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33,34,35,36,37,41,42,43,44,45,46,47,48 [not counting the verses given to R]).

2) *Numbers and Dates*: (1) "On the fifteenth day of the first month" (Num. 33:3a); (2) "in the fortieth year...on the first day of the fifth month" (Num. 33:38); (3) "Aaron was 123 years of age" (Num. 33:39); (4) "Moses was 120 years of age at his death" (Deut. 34:7a); (5) "and they mourned...thirty days" (Deut. 34:8a); (6) "in the fortieth year, etc." (Deut. 1:3).

3) *Verboseness and Repetition*: (1) Deut. 32:48b does not mean much; (2) all that is needful in Deut. 32:49 is the first five words in *a* and the first four in *b* (or nine out of twenty-four words); (3) Deut. 32:50a **בבכב** showing P's fondness for stereotyped phrases; (4) Deut. 32:51b adds nothing to 51a; (5) the last seven words of Deut. 32:52 are a clumsy and unnecessary addition; (6) the last seven words of Num. 27:21 are unnecessary; (7) Num. 27:22b,23 are useless after 22a, in connection with the instructions given in vs. 18 sq.; (8) Num. 32:29 is a repetition of vs. 21 sq.; (9) Num. 33:1 needs only the first four words; (10) Num. 33:2b is superfluous; (11) Num. 33:3b-5a are quite irrelevant; (12) Num. 33:38 sq. also contain perfectly unnecessary information; (13) Num. 33:54 requires only the first five and the last three words (or eight out of twenty-four words).

## 5. MATERIAL OF P.

As compared with the *prophetic* material, we find

1) *Duplicate accounts*: (1) of the appointment of Joshua (P = Num. 27:18-25; E = Deut. 31:14 sq.); (2) of the land given to Reuben and Gad (*both* intermingled in Num. 32; their character will best appear under the following heads); (3) there are evidently *two sets* of regulations in Num. 33:52-56 (see *below*); (4) that there is more than *one* account of Moses' death in Deut. 34, will also be shown later on.

2) *Similarities and differences*: (1) While in both accounts, Joshua is appointed because of Moses' end being near (Num. 27:12-17 and Deut. 31:14a), P alone lays special stress on (a) the laying on of hands (Num. 27:18b,23a); (b) the presence of Eleazar the priest (*ibid.*, 19a,22b); (c) the fact that Joshua is to depend for Yahweh's revelation on what Eleazar is to tell him by means of the *Urim* (*ibid.*, 21); (2) according to *all* accounts, Reuben and Gad are to have their desired district only on condition that they aid their brethren across the Jordan; but according to P, (a) Moses demands it (Num. 32:20-22); (b) he leaves the contract with



Eleazar, Joshua and the chiefs of the tribes (*ibid.*, 28 sq.); while in E, they make the offer themselves (*ibid.*, 16 sq.), and that settles it (see *below*); (3) it is characteristic of the prophet to warn the people against idolatry, when they conquer the land (Num. 33:52,55); but P simply emphasizes the division by lot (*ibid.*, 54; cf. 26:52-56); (4) according to P, Moses died on a mountain (Deut. 34:5a [עֶם־נְבוֹ referring to נְבוֹ in v. 1a]); according to D, in a valley (Deut. 34:6a).

3) *Incongruities*: (1) If the entire Pentateuch be from one hand, it would be strange (a) that, after Joshua had been fully, legally and divinely appointed (Num. 27:18-23), the order should so *soon*\* come again to call Joshua, etc. (Deut. 31:14 sq.); (b) that Moses should have called Joshua before he were bidden, and should have given him the same instructions (Deut. 31:7 sq. [= D<sup>2</sup>], which Yahweh gave afterwards (Deut. 31:23); (c) that the entire ceremony, including Moses' instructions, should take place in the presence of the whole congregation (Num. 27:19,22b; Deut. 31:7); while Yahweh's instructions, which would confirm his divine appointment more than anything else, were given privately, only Moses being present (Deut. 31:14b,23); (2) Num. 32, while at first glance it seems consistent enough, shows some literary difficulties, when more closely examined: (a) vs. 2b-4 give us the words of the children of Reuben and Gad; why then should v. 5 (apparently a mere continuation of their petition) begin anew, "And they said," etc.?† (b) v. 16 also begins as if they come forward for the first time;‡ (c) the greatest inconsistency, however, is that after they voluntarily offer to accompany Israel in their conquests (vs. 16-19), Moses should introduce it as a condition, and should talk so much about it (vs. 20-30); (d) v. 31, moreover, speaks explicitly of the condition as being the command of God, not the words of Gad and Reuben; (e) no author would introduce "the half of the tribe of Manasseh" in v. 33a, so abruptly and inappropriately; (3) the instruction given in Num. 33:54 has no connection with what immediately precedes or follows (vs. 52 sq. and 55 sq.), while v. 55 is not only a natural, but necessary, sequence to vs. 52 sq.; (4) in the death of Moses, we find (a) that Deut. 32:50a emphasizes the fact that he is to die on the mountain (that in this respect also his death may be like Aaron's (50b)), and this would be the natural impression of Deut. 34:1-5; but v. 6a explicitly says that he was buried in the valley; (b) that Deut. 32:49a gives the description of the place very minutely; but 34:6b says that nobody knew his burial place; (5) who wrote Deut. 34? Surely not Moses (vs. 5-12 would decide against him); hardly Joshua (v. 9a would hardly be from him). It is the *conservative* critic who appeals in this case§ to a "later hand," to a Redactor. But if R could write a

\* It will be remembered that the events in Num. 27 and Deut. 31 are very near each other *chronologically* (perhaps on the "very same day," Deut. 32:48), since the entire book of Deuteronomy is supposed to be Moses' last words to Israel. The point made in the text is this: that a writer trying already to crowd so much into so short a time, would be least likely to make so many independent and disconnected references to Joshua's appointment.

† The *Massorites* evidently felt it, and so made v. 5 begin a new paragraph.

‡ Note the paragraph here also.

§ In fact, all the so-called glosses, etc., are often gotten rid of by appealing to an R.

whole section (as vs. 5-12), connecting it with preceding material, and giving it as a part of the original, who can affirm that he has done so only in this place, or that he did not make other improvements (?) in the text ? (6) Deut. 33 breaks in on 32:52 and 34:1.

#### 6. THEOLOGY OF P.

But two points are to be noticed in this brief section :

1) Emphasis is laid on the ceremony of the laying on of hands in the appointment of Joshua (Num. 27:18b,23a), and attributing his divine power to it (Deut. 34:9a).

2) The importance of the *high priest* is emphasized by (1) mentioning his presence at important affairs, as (a) the installation of Joshua (Num. 27:19a,22b); (b) the negotiations with the Reubenites (Num. 32:2b,28\*); (2) subordinating the prophet or judge to him (Num. 27:21a).

#### B. Element of J.

##### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

Num. 32:5-13 [14 sq. = R, on a basis of J†], 20 sq. in part, 23,25-27,31,39(?), 41 sq. (Well. and Kuen., no trace of J; Kitt., 1b,2a,3,5-13,23,25-27 [all, however, modified by R]; Num. 33:52 sq.,55 sq. (Well. and Kuen., no trace of J [Well. assigns vs. 52 sq.,55 sq. to P<sup>1</sup> incorporated by P<sup>2</sup>]; Kitt. quotes Dill.‡); Deut. 31:14 sq. (*traces*), 15-23 [vs. 24-30 = R<sup>d</sup>, after JE and D(?)‡]; 32:1-44; 34:1b,4 (Well., no trace of J, except perhaps 34:7b [31:14-23; 32:1-44, and ch. 34 = D<sup>2</sup> and E worked over by R<sup>d</sup>]; Kuen., no trace of J; Kitt. quotes Dill. for Deut. 31:16-22, but gives them to R in their present form).||

##### 2. SYNOPSIS.

"Moses discusses with the children of Reuben and Gad the advisability of their remaining this side of Jordan, reminding them that they must not discourage the nation, as did the spies. But they promise to leave their families and flocks in Gilead, while they themselves will fight in Yahweh's battles. Also some of the tribe of Manasseh capture some cities in Gilead, and settle there. In connection with the prospective entrance into the promised land, some injunctions about the treatment of those nations are emphasized.—Moses being near death, Yahweh directs him to write a poem, and have the Israelites learn it, as a warning for future days, when they fall away from Yahweh, and, of course, suffer the consequent punishments. Moses complies, and the text of the Song is given. Then Yahweh points out to Moses from a distance the whole promised land from Gilead to Dan, reminding him that he is not to pass thither."

\* Note also that Eleazar is here put before Joshua.

† Cf. Dill., III., p. 195.

‡ Cf. Dill., III., p. 390.

§ Cf. Kitt., I., p. 184, notes 3) and 4).

## 3. LANGUAGE.

## 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) מִצָּא חֵן (Num. 32:5).  
 (2) עֲבָדְךָ [= your humble servant] (Num. 32:4b,5,25,27,31).  
 (3) יְהוָה (Num. 32:7,9,10,12,13 *bis*,23,27,31; Deut. 31:14,15,16; 32:3,6,9,12,19,36; 34:1,4); [also Deut. 33:2,7,11,12,13,21,20 = E].  
 (4) חָרָה אֵף (Num. 32:10,13; Deut. 31:17).  
 (5) אָדָמָה (Num. 32:11; Deut. 31:20; 32:43).  
 (6) מָלֵא אַחֲרָי (Num. 32:11,12).  
 (7) רָע בְּעֵינַי (Num. 32:13).  
 (8) יָסַף (Num. 32:15).  
 (9) טָף (Num. 32:26).

- (10) וַיִּעַתָּה (Deut. 31:19; 32:39).  
 (11) שִׁים (Deut. 31:19).  
 (12) נִאֲוֶן (Deut. 31:20; 32:19).  
 (13) אֲנֹכִי (Deut. 31:18,28; 32:40).  
 (14) בָּטָרָם (Deut. 31:21).  
 (15) הִאֲוִין (Deut. 32:1).  
 (16) אָפַס (Deut. 32:36).  
 (17) אִי (Deut. 32:37).  
 (18) הִצִּיל (32:39).

## 2) NEW WORDS.

See remark under P, p. 288.

## 4. STYLE OF THE PROPHETS.

The following remarks will suffice :

1) As this section is very brief, and as almost all of the prophetic material in it is taken up by the two long poems (Deut. 32 sq.), there is very little chance to illustrate their regular style.

2) But the very fact that their material is given in the form of poetry, is characteristic of the prophets.

3) To do justice to the beautiful diction, bold figures of speech, and splendid imagery of the poems, is beyond the scope of this article: no one can fail to find them.

4) But also in the prosaic fragments the prophetic stamp is unmistakable : (1) the elaborate, earnest appeal to past experience (Num. 32:6-15); (2) the strong warning against alliance with the gods and nations of Canaan (Num. 33:52 sq., 55 sq.\*); (3) the prediction of "many evils and afflictions" as an inevitable result of sin (Deut. 31:16-21)—how all these remind us of Amos and Isaiah.

## 5. MATERIAL.

The material of J will be considered in connection with that of E, pp. 294 sq.

## 6. THEOLOGY OF THE PROPHETS.

1) J evidently knows nothing of a תּוֹרָה which is to be a testimony [an עֵדוּת to the people: Moses is to write a poem (Deut. 32) embodying (1) Yahweh's kindly dealings with Israel; (2) their rejection and neglect of him; (3) his severe but temporary punishment; (4) Israel's final restoration, because of Yahweh's jealousy for his honor; and *this* was "to be a witness for Yahweh against the children of Israel" (Deut. 31:19,21a).

2) Yahweh is very near to his people: (1) he is a father (Deut. 32:6b,18); (2) he tenderly cares for them (Deut. 33:11-14).

3) E refers indeed to Levi as those called to teach the people, and to offer up sacrifice (Deut. 33:8-10). But note (1) that it is the whole tribe to whom priestly



offices are ascribed; (2) that the ground of his call is based solely on his special zeal shown at Israel's rebellion (v. 9; cf. Ex. 32:25-29); (3) that the teaching of God's precepts is the primary, while sacrifice is but the secondary function of the Levites. [A fuller discussion of the *prophetic* (including the Deuteronomic) view of the priesthood, belongs to the legal argument].

### C. Element of E.

#### 1. VERSES ASSIGNED.

Num. 32:2a, 3, 16 sq., [20 sq. partly (?)], 24, 34-38, [39, 41 sq. (?)] (Well., 1-15, traces in 16-19, חֲמִשִּׁים in 17, and 20-27 = X; 34-42 [except v. 40 = R] = JE (E or J); Kuen., traces of E underlie the work of R<sup>d</sup> in 1-5, 16-32; besides, vs. 34-42 [except the references to Manasseh in 39-42 (= R<sup>d</sup>); Kitt., parts of vs. 1-3, 16 sq., 24, 34-39, 41 sq. [“a bit of information anticipated here by E, from which arose later in P(?) and R the idea that half of Manasseh had already in Moses' day possessed a lot east of Jordan”]; Deut. 31:14 sq.; 33:1-29 [incorporated by E(?); 34:10\* (Well., 31:14-23 and ch. 34 [except P<sup>2</sup> in 1a and 7a (and J in 7b(?))] = JE [E(?) worked over by R<sup>d</sup>]; Deut. 33 is an *independent* fragment; Kuen. (XII. and I., p. 125 sq.); 31:14 sq., 23 [traces also in 1-8 worked over by R<sup>d</sup>] [vs. 16-22 and 32:1-44 = R<sup>d</sup>, or more properly JE, distinguished by Kuen., from R<sup>d</sup>; ch. 33 stands out of all connection, and was perhaps taken up by R<sup>d</sup>]; 34:1-12 [except P<sup>2</sup> in 1a, 8 sq., and R<sup>d</sup> whose redaction extends throughout, as in the case of 31:1-8, 14-23]; Kitt., Deut. 31:14-23(?); 32:44; 33:1-29 [2-29 = an older source incorporated by E; 32:1-33 is not E's song of Moses, but a more recent production substituted for it by R<sup>d</sup>]; 34:10†).

#### 2. SYNOPSIS.

“The sons of Gad and Reuben, having entered many cities, ask permission to settle their families and flocks in them, promising, however, to assist the rest of Israel in getting settled in the promised land. Their request is granted, provided they keep their promise. They build up their cities as fortifications, changing their names. Moses being near to death, God‡ directs him to bring Joshua to the ‘Tent of Meeting,’ to instruct him about his new duties. Moses then pronounces his blessing over the nation, making mention of each tribe (and dies§). And there never was a prophet like him in Israel.”

#### 3. LANGUAGE.

##### 1) OLD WORDS.

- (1) טָף (Num. 32:16, 17, 24).
- (2) מִבְצָר (Num. 32:17, 36).
- (3) אֱלֹהִים (Deut. 33:1).
- (4) מִחֵץ (Deut. 33:11).

(5) אָהֵל (Deut. 33:18).

(6) טָמֵן (Deut. 33:19).

##### 2) NEW WORDS.

See *remark*, under P, p. 288.

\* Cf. Dill., III., p. 433.

† Verses in this section, *not* assigned, are from D; as 32:45-47; 34:6, 11 sq.

‡ Yahweh in the text.

§ Implied in 33:1b.

## 4. STYLE OF E.

[See under J, pp. 292 sq.]

## 5. MATERIAL.

[J and E are here compared and contrasted:]

1) *Single* accounts, or material peculiar to *one* of the prophetic authors: (1) the warning against leaving any of the foreign nations or their gods in the land (Num. 33:52 sq., 55 sq.), harmonizes with J's material elsewhere [cf. Ex. 34:11-16]; (2) the order to write the Song of Warning (Deut. 31:16-22), and (3) the Song itself (Deut. 32:1-44), are in their *present* form and connection from J; as can be seen from (a) the *uniform* use of Yahweh (31:16; 32:3,6,9,12,19,27,30,36); (b) certain historical references (vs. 21,30,35 sq., and vs. 40-42\*); yet it has some characteristics of the *Northern* dialect,† which would make it a much older document; (4) on the other hand, Moses' *blessing* (Deut. 33) is probably, in the main, from E, as will appear from (a) the word אֱלֹהִים in v. 1; (b) *Joseph* receives the most attention of any of the other tribes (vs. 13-17); while *Judah* is but briefly dismissed, with a prayer that God might "restore him to his nation" (v. 7) as if *Judah* was to blame for the division of the kingdom; (c) the strange arrangement of the tribes [cf. Gen. 29:32-30:24 + 35:17 sq.; also Gen. 35:23-26a; 46:8-24; Ex. 1:2-4; Num. 1:5b-15; 20-42; 2:3-30; 7:12-78; 10:14-27; 13:4-15; 26:5-48; 34:19-28; and especially Gen. 49:3-27‡] would seem to indicate that the writer wished to dispose of the group of Judah, and then turn to the Ephraimitic union, with Joseph as leader. [Reuben is the only exception, but his birthright naturally entitles him to the priority which is accorded to him§]; (d) the references made to Levi (vs. 8b,9) are to E's material [cf. Ex. 17:3-6; 32:26-29]; also the words שְׁכֵנֵי סִנָּה in v. 16, refer to Ex. 3:2-4.

2) *Double* accounts: (1) the gift to the tribes of Gad and Reuben (Num. 32) presents the following duplicates (*aside* from P's account): (a) v. 16 is in thought equal to v. 5, and begins in such a way, as if entirely ignorant of the latter; (b) vs. 25-27 form not only an awkward repetition of vs. 16 sq., but 25b is a different presentation: instead of their offering to aid Israel (v. 17), Moses imposes it upon them; (2) Moses' death was probably recorded by *all* the writers; but in the present combined story (Deut. 34), the different(?) prophetic versions can be determined only in fragments. Thus v. 4a is evidently from J (the expression occurring verbatim in Ex. 33:1b; cf. also Gen. 13:15; 15:18b; 26:3; 28:13), while v. 10 refers clearly to Ex. 33:11a, which is from E.

\* For the historical background of Deut. 32, cf. Dill., III., p. 393.

† Cf. Dill., III., p. 394.

‡ Dill. mentions some of them.

§ Against Moses, as the author, are vs. 1, 4, and 27 sq. (Israel being *settled* already).

3) *R's combinations*: (1) the composite character of Num. 32 has already been amply shown [see under *P*, pp. 289 sq.]; (2) also the combination in Num. 33:50-56 needs no further elaboration; (3) but it is also seen in Deut. 31:14-23, where we notice that (a) two distinct stories are combined: the installation of Joshua (vs. 14 sq. and 23), and the order to write the Song (vs. 16-22); (b) the first of these stories is, in the main at least, from *E*, as the references to the "Tent of Meeting," and the pillar of cloud (vs. 14 sq.) would show [cf. Ex. 33:7-11]; (c) v. 16 is decidedly out of connection with v. 15, and v. 23 is not only an awkward appendage to v. 22, but requires a change of subject (from Moses to Yahweh, as v. 28b shows); (4) that the prevailing name of the Deity is Yahweh, is probably due to *R's* influence; (5) Deut. 33:4 is not of a piece with what precedes or follows; (6) the composition of Deut. 34 has already been dwelt upon sufficiently.\*

## 6. THEOLOGY.†

[Cf. under *J*, p. 292.]

---

\* No attempt has been made to consider the few Deuteronomic passages in this section, nor to prove that the material assigned to *J* and *E* is not from *D*, since this would involve us in an examination of the style, diction and substance of *D*, which is irrelevant here.

† This concludes the presentation of the historical material from the analyst's point of view. When the answer to this presentation has been made, an examination of the legal material will be undertaken.



## THE ORIGIN OF THE NOTAE RELATIONIS IN HEBREW.

BY RICHARD KRAETZSCHMAR, PH. D.,

Leipzig, Germany.

As is well known, there are two relative pronouns in Hebrew, **אשר** and **ש**, and it is a much debated question, but one not yet definitely settled, whether they are etymologically related or whether **אשר** is to be separated from **ש**. The common opinion is that **אשר** and **ש** belong together in their derivation. It is not necessary to take up the attempted explanations which would refer both relatives back to an original verbal root, as these are already antiquated, and hence we have only to do with the method which is in vogue to-day, viz.: to derive them from pronominal roots. Three explanations have been offered. Some scholars claim that **ש** has arisen from **אשר** by aphaeresis of **א** and assimilation of **ר**. So Gesenius<sup>1</sup>, Ewald<sup>2</sup> and Olshausen<sup>3</sup>. Others argue for the priority of **ש** and regard **אשר** as a formation of it. According to these, the original form was **אשל**, consisting of three particles, analogous to the Arabic **الَّذِي**<sup>4</sup>, which, by hardening of **ל** to **ר**, has passed over to **אשר**. So Philippi<sup>5</sup>, Sperling<sup>6</sup>, and similarly Brown<sup>7</sup>, who regards **אשר** as a formation of **ש** by means of **א** prostheticum (cf. König<sup>8</sup>) and **ר**, for which he compares the Coptic equivalents **musar** and **mus**, **stufar** and **stuf** from Stern's *Koptische Grammatik*. Others again refer **אשר** and **ש** to a common pronominal form **של**, which is the ground form of both. So Böttcher<sup>9</sup> and König<sup>10</sup>.

In favor of these derivations is, first, the close grammatical connection between the two relatives, which also argues for a common origin; and further, the consideration that all Semitic relative pronouns have arisen from one pronominal stem—from the *t*-stem, relatively the closely allied *d*-stems<sup>11</sup>—or, at least, one which contains it (cf. the **ذ** in **الَّذِي**). On the other side, over

<sup>1</sup> Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, cf. - **ש**.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*. 8 Aufl., 1870; § 181b.

<sup>3</sup> Olshausen, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, 1861, p. 439; cf. § 687.

<sup>4</sup> Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. I. § 347.

<sup>5</sup> Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Status constructus im Hebr.*, p. 72; note.

<sup>6</sup> Sperling, *Die Nota Relationis im Hebr.*, 1876.

<sup>7</sup> Brown, *HEBRAICA*, Jan., 1886.

<sup>8</sup> *Hist.-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, 1881, p. 140.

<sup>9</sup> Böttcher, *Ausführl. Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*. Bd. I., p. 78 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> König, *l. c.*, p. 140.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. my article on *Relativpronomen und Relativsatz im Assyrischen*, *BSS.* I., 2., p. 370 sqq.

against these two reasons, there are important considerations which place in great doubt the possibility of the above explanations, as well as the pronominal origin of אֵשׁ in general. Sperling<sup>1</sup> has already and correctly observed the difficulty in Ewald's explanation, by showing that he has worked from a wrong basis. The real support and starting-point of this explanation is as follows, that the Dāghēš-forte in Hebrew is always a sign of the assimilation of a letter to the one following. This is, however, incorrect, as Sperling shows, because Dāghēš-forte is often used, where there is and can be no assimilation, to render firm the sound of a preceding short word. He rightly refers to the exactly analogous Dāghēš-forte of the article. הֵּ is not, as is still commonly done, to be referred to an original הֵּ so that it would be identical with هَآل, أَآل; but it goes back to the ground-form הֵּ and further to ha, of which the Arabic article is a formation by means of the pronominal element l, which we meet in this function in other places in Semitic. When Hommel<sup>2</sup> accepts this explanation of Dāghēš-forte for הֵּ but rejects it for הֵּ, referring it back to הֵּל, it is only a concession which he makes to the earlier and dominating opinion as to the origin of the Hebrew article. One can go even further and say that doubling of the following consonant often occurs, when a long vowel becomes short. Here compensation is made for the shortening of the long vowel by the doubling of the following consonant. This Dāghēš-forte may be called compensative<sup>3</sup>. Such is the Dāghēš in the relative הֵּ, as well as in הֵּ, and we are therefore entitled to accept for both an originally long vowel. For הֵּ this opinion is supported by the original length of the vowel of the Assyrian relative pronoun ša, which is closely related to הֵּ (cf. for this further on and my article mentioned above, p. 371 sq).

In like manner Sperling has also overthrown the hypothesis of Böttcher, because the הֵּ, which is placed as the basis of his view, is simply invented; for the later Hebrew הֵּ, as Hommel has correctly remarked (l. c., p. 712, anm. 4) has nothing to do with this original הֵּ, because it is composed of הֵּ and the preposition of the Dative הֵּ, and is a very late formation. Again the further development of הֵּ to אֵשׁ offers many difficulties. The solution put forward by Brown is impossible. The analogies brought by him from the Coptic are of no value, because in the Hebrew we have a Semitic language, and in Semitic such a formation by means of הֵּ, especially in the case of pronominal stems, would be unheard of. How would one explain this הֵּ? As is well known there is in the Semitic no pronominal root beginning with הֵּ and never has been. But also the

<sup>1</sup> Sperling, p. 6 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Hommel, *ZDMG.*, XXII., p. 713.

<sup>3</sup> The same principle of doubling is to be seen in Assyrian words, with vowels which are undoubtedly long, e. g., ūru = אֵר, rûku, "far off," kîma, "like," etc., are written urru, ruḳku, kiṃma; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 11.

opinion advocated by Philippi and Sperling, the only one of the above which can be defended—presents many difficulties. Hommel classifies them as follows: 1) that the exchange of ל and ך in Semitic (except, at most, the dialectic change in some of the Semitic languages) has not been proved, in fact is impossible and 2) that ך as a pronominal stem does not occur in any of the conjunctive or adverbial particles of any of the Semitic languages (the *r* in כִּי, ךֵּנִי is a special peculiarity of the Syriac, and ל also occurs). This makes the pronominal derivation of אֲשֶׁר impossible.

The first of these two arguments can be debated, but the second is of great weight. Sperling is compelled to acknowledge its importance, for he says: "Behaupten wir nun, in dem hebr. אֲשֶׁר eine Weiterbildung der beiden durch Kanaanäisches ו and phœnic. אש sprachlich fixierten Deutewörtern zu finden, so müssen wir bekennen, dass jenes ך die hebr. Nota relationis zunächst aus allem Zusammenhange mit den Relativform der angeführten semit. Sprachen . . . treten, unmittelbar auf einen Pronominalstamm sich nicht zurückführen lässt und darum eine unmittelbare Erklärung nicht bietet."

In recognition of these serious difficulties, many scholars have denied any etymological connection between ו and אֲשֶׁר and have referred אֲשֶׁר to an original noun-form. The first to do this was Tsepregi<sup>1</sup>, while Fleischer, Mühlau<sup>2</sup>, Stade<sup>3</sup>, Hommel<sup>4</sup>, Kautzsch<sup>5</sup>, Müller<sup>6</sup>, Mühlau-Volck<sup>7</sup>, Sayce, etc., have followed him. According to these אֲשֶׁר goes back to an original substantive, with the meaning "place," corresponding to the Arabic أَثَرٌ, Syriac ܐܬܪܐ, Aramaic ܐܬܪܐ. The possibility of the transition in meaning from "place," then "where," to that of a general relative cannot be denied, and is even admitted by the opponents of this explanation. Compare Schrader<sup>8</sup> and Philippi, the latter of whom brings forward as an analogous the Chinese sò "place," which is also a relative (cf. Schott, *Chinesische Sprachlehre*, p. 66); cf. further Persian كُجَا = "wo des ortes," which was originally used like the common Relative که; and the vulgar method of expression in German "der Mann wo ich sehe" for "der Mann welchen ich sehe." The Assyrian throws great light upon this question and makes it almost certain that אֲשֶׁר is to be referred to a substantive with the meaning "place." A word very much used in Assyrian is a šru, "place," plur. a šrâti (e. g. V. R

<sup>1</sup> Tsepregi, *Dissert. Ludg.*

<sup>2</sup> Mühlau, in Böttcher, *Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*. I., p. 78 Anm. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Stade, *Morgenländ. Forschungen*, 1875, p. 188 Anm.; *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*. I., § 167.

<sup>4</sup> Hommel, *l. c.*, p. 708 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Kautzsch, in Gesenius' *Hebr. Grammatik*, 23 Aufl., § 123.

<sup>6</sup> Müller, *Hebr. Grammatik* § 135.

<sup>7</sup> Mühlau-Volck in Gesenius' *Hebr. Handwörterbuch*, 10 Aufl., unter אֲשֶׁר.

<sup>8</sup> Schrader, *Jenais. Litt.-Zeitung*, 1875, p. 299.



65 I. 15) a regular *فَعَلَ*-formation. The *ש* is not original, but corresponds to original Semitic *t*; cf. the Arabic, Syriac, Aramaic form, according to the well known law of phonetics that the Arabic *ث*, Aramaic *ܬ*, Hebrew *ש*, Assyrian *š* correspond to the original Semitic *t*. The stat. constr. is *ašar*. This *ašru* can, like other substantives, subordinate a whole sentence (cf. §9 of my *Abhandlung über den Relativsatz*) but it always does this without the intervention of *ša* and always in the stat. constr., and so this *ašar* has become a Relative with the meaning "where," "whither." In fact, it is so petrified that, when it connects a number of things, it still remains *ašar* and does not assume the plural form. *Ašar* and *אשר* were very early brought together because of their similarity in sound, but Hommel was the first to thoroughly prove this connection. It is to be regretted that he has made a mistake in his proof, and hence has arrived at false results. He cites two passages for *ašar*. The first is Sennacherib Taylor, IV., 22-24: "die Flüchtlinge...*ašar ikašadû urassapû ina kakki durchbohrten sie mit der Waffe, wo sie (sie) trafen*," which "zeigt, wie man sich den Übergang von der ursprl. Bedeutung 'Ort' zu der rein relativen zu vermitteln habe." The other is Nebuchadnezzar, E. I. H., II., 14 sq., which "zeigt, wie im Semitischen die Verwendung dieses Nomens als Relativpronomen vorkommen konnte" and where "eine andere Erklärung ganz ausgeschlossen ist." This important passage has been mistranslated by him. He reads <sup>18</sup>*padanim piḫûti* <sup>19</sup>*ašar kibsišu arrusu* <sup>20</sup>*sipila ibāšu* and translates "Ein Terrain der Verschlossenheit dessen Pfad und Steg hügelig war," connecting *ašar* with the suffix in *arrusu* (= *arrut-šu*). On the other hand, this passage must be read *padanim piḫûti ašar kibsi šuprusu*.... and translated "verschlossene Wege, wo (=auf denen) ein Betreten gehemmt ist."<sup>1</sup> *Ašar* is never used, as Hommel uses it here, as a general Relative pronoun<sup>2</sup>, but always as a Relative of place. We can well see how *ašar* gradually lost its substantive force, and how its original meaning "place" weakened, so that only a step was needed for it to become a general Relative, a step, however, which was not and could not be taken in the Assyrian, but which was taken, probably, in the Hebrew.

Again *ašar* was used as a substantive in the meaning "there, where," "there, whither," "thither, where," "thither, whither," or according to our opinion and method of expression, "mit Einschluss seines Demonstrativs." Examples are: *ašar birkâ manâhtu išâ šir aban šadî ûšibma*, "there where my knees found a resting place, I sat down on the top of the mountain," Sennacherib Taylor, III., 88 sq.; *Tarḫû ašar innabtu rašubat kakki Ašûr ishapi*

<sup>1</sup> *Šuprusu* is Perm. III. of *פָּרַשׁ* with relative *u*, and *kibsu* is a Nom. with the Nom. ending *i*, so commonly used by the Babylonians; cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 180, and my *Abhandlung über den Relativsatz*, BSS., p. 408 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Lyon, *Sarg. Cyl.*, 32 appears to accept this also.

šûma, "the might of Ašûr's weapons overthrew Tarķû, whither he had fled," V R. II. 20; ašar tallakî ittiki lûllik, "whither thou goest, thither shall I go with thee," Asurb. Sm., 125, 61; "they may go ašar šibâta whither they please," Strass. Leyd. 8, Neb. VII., 16 sqq., etc. Again it can depend on a preceding substantive, in which case it corresponds to the Relative ša with a Preposition and suffix, e. g.: "the country Maš ašar (=ša ķiribšu) umâm šêri lâ ibašû u iššur šamê la išakanu ķinu where (=in which) no beast of the field and no bird of the heavens builds its nest," V R. VIII. 108 sqq.; ina rêš êni Subnat ašar šalam ša Tukulti palešara u Tukulti-Adar izzizûni, "at the sources of the river Subnat, where an image of T. and T. A. is placed," Ašurn. I, 104 sq.; šadê bît markîtišu ašar itanaprašidu, "the mountain, his house of refuge, where (=in which) he had fled," V R. X., 13 sq.; "the house ašar êpru bubûssunu where dust is their food," Descent of Istar, obv. 3, Shalmaneser obelisk, 69, etc. With attraction of the Relative in the relative sentence: ašar abû bânûa ina Sâ ana šarrûti ipķiduš ana maškanišu utîršu = literally, where my father had appointed him king (sc. in the city of Sâ), thither I returned him to his place," V R. II. 16 sq., for ana Sâ ašar...ipķiduš utîru<sup>1</sup>. Ašar can so far lose its original meaning, that, in a relative sentence where there is another expression of place with a suffix referring back to ašar, it can absorb this suffix, a kind of absorption which one only finds elsewhere after the Relative pronoun ša. An instructive example for this is: Bîtridûti ša Sin-aķê-erba šarrûti êpušu ina libbišu ašar Ašûr-aķê-iddina abû bânûa ķiribšu aldu, "Bitriduti, in which Sennacherib ruled, in the midst of which (literally, where—in its midst) Esarhaddon, my father, was born," V R. I. 25 sqq. The ķiribšu which exactly corresponds to ina libbišu refers back to ašar, just as if ša and not ašar stood at the beginning of the relative sentence. This example shows that ašar has deteriorated into a half-way relative with a weak local coloring.

Ašar has not gone any further than this in the Assyrian, and it was not possible, because ašar retained its character as a substantive in the meaning "place" until the last, so that it was impossible that a form of it should come into use as a general Relative like the Hebrew אשר. One can only conceive of this if the corresponding substantive had died, and was retained only in the petrified form ašar, which then could have easily passed into uses which had nothing in common with its original meaning. This is the case in Hebrew, where the

<sup>1</sup> For further examples of this kind of attraction, cf. my *Abhandlung über den Relativsatz*, BSS., p. 401 sq. Even here the idea expressed in the relative sentence is replaced by a corresponding one (ana maškanišu) in the principle sentence; for ana, which should really have stood before ša, it was necessary in accordance with the structure of the whole sentence, for an ana to be inserted in the Relative sentence.

substantive from which **אִשֶּׁר** is to be derived has been lost, and only this one form of it is retained. Schrader urges this point against Stade's explanation, but it is rather an argument for the derivation of **אִשֶּׁר** from a substantive.

We have, then, in the Assyrian Relative of Place *ašar*, the middle and connecting link between a substantive with the meaning "place," which lies at the basis of **אִשֶּׁר** and the purely relative use of **אִשֶּׁר**. The corresponding substantive in Hebrew must have been, according to the laws of formation, **אֶשֶׁר**, stat. constr. **אִשֶּׁר**. The change of  $\text{—}$  of the second syllable to  $\text{—}$  is a change which is often found in Hebrew, and which explains itself in the frequent use of the word and hence does not make any difficulties for this etymology, cf. the change of **שֵׁ** to **שֶׁ**. The original meaning of **אִשֶּׁר** is so far lost, that it easily enters into such combinations as **מְקוֹם אִשֶּׁר**, **מְקוֹם אִשֶּׁר**<sup>1</sup>. A trace of its substantive nature and original meaning is perhaps found in uses like: **בְּאִשֶּׁר** "in the place where," Ruth i. 17; **עַל אִשֶּׁר**, "upon the place, where," 1 Kgs. xviii. 12, etc., which are otherwise very difficult to explain. Compare the laborious attempts at explanation made by König, *l. c.*, p. 139 and Ewald, *l. c.*, § 333a. The latter says: "Da nun **אִשֶּׁר** als Accusativ auch die allgemeine Hinweisung auf Ort, Zeit, Art und Weise enthält (§ 331c 3), so versteht sich, wie **עַל אִשֶּׁר** wohin...bedeuten kann." This is, however, not so plain, for even if it is true that **אִשֶּׁר** "als Accusativ die allgemeine Hinweisung auf Ort, Zeit, Art und Weise angeben kann," this is the case only after a noun which as antecedent refers to it, but not when the Relative stands alone.

Corresponding to the original Hebrew Relative pronoun, there is the **שֶׁ** common to the Phœnician and Assyrian. This is the ground form of **שֶׁ**, as the Assyrian has still preserved it; cf. my *Abhandlung* cited above. Sperling's view that  $\text{—}$  is the original vowel is absolutely impossible.  $\text{—}$  is rather  $\text{—}$ , for we still find the form  $\text{—שֶׁ}$ , e. g., Judg. v. 7; Job xix. 29; and even the form  $\text{שֶׁשֶׁ}$ , e. g., **שְׁאֵתָהּ**, Judg. vi. 17. The Assyrian *ša* also argues for an *a*-vowel. **שֶׁ** is found not only in the late, post-exilic books, but also in the oldest portions of the Old Testament, e. g., Judg. v. 7, Canticles and especially in such as are of North Israelitish origin. Originally it completely corresponded in its use to the Assyrian *ša*. As a sign of the genitive it is still found in the proper name **מְתוֹשָׁאֵל**, "Man of God," Gen. iv. 18; as a Relative often (for the most part in later writings); as a conjunction with the meaning "that," Koh. ii. 13; iii. 18; ix. 5; Judg. vi. 17, etc., and "while," Cant. i. 6; v. 2; Koh. ii. 18, etc. If it is found in the later writing, where it again takes the place of **אִשֶּׁר**, in a broader use than the Assyrian *ša*, this is to be explained, on the one hand, by the fact that it has deteriorated more, as even the outward form shows (the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. König, *l. c.*, p. 140.



vocalization of the vowel to a Š'wâ, cf. שׁ, Koh. II. 22 ; III. 18) corresponding to Syriac ܫ ; and, on the other hand, as due to the influence of אֲשֶׁר which was exclusively used for so long a time, and which, in accordance with its nature, had a wider use, so that when שׁ again came to the front, it assumed this use. This is the only explanation of the fact that שׁ, which was used originally like Phœnician ש and Assyrian ša as a sign of the genitive and was not so used in late Hebrew, while ְ, דִי, in spite of their other deterioration, as respects their character as demonstratives, never lost this use, and of the fact that it was always connected by means of ל with an incomplete relative sentence, as was the case with אֲשֶׁר ; cf. מִטַּתוֹ שֶׁל־שְׁלֹמֹה, "the bed of Solomon," Cant. III. 7 ; and that the late Hebrew שֶׁ which took the place of the Genitive particles arose from ל and שׁ. The possibility of introducing the Genitive simply by the (demonstrative) Relative as in most of the other Semitic languages, was lost because of the prevailing use of אֲשֶׁר through so many centuries.

# A CLASSIFICATION OF SENTENCES IN THE SENNACHERIB (TAYLOR) INSCRIPTION.

BY LESTER BRADNER, JR.,

New Haven, Conn.

In order to obtain a complete classification it seemed necessary to take account not merely of complete sentences, but even of short clauses. In the following discussion therefore, I have considered as a sentence any clause consisting of a predicate with a subject or object, where this was not a pronominal suffix, even a verb or predicate alone, provided it was joined by a conjunction to the preceding clause.

I have followed in the main the order of treatment of the sentence outlined in Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar*. My first work, therefore, was to divide the sentences among the various main classes of Declarative, Relative, Negative, Cohortative, and Imperative, then to consider the peculiarities of each class, and finally, to tabulate the results of an investigation of the connection of sentences.

First then the results of the general classification are as follows :

TABLE I.

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Declarative.....	42	53	52	53	56	38	294
Relative .....	6	6	14	8	10	15	59
Negative.....	3	2	4	3	4	2	18
Imperative.....	..	..	..	..	4	..	4
Cohortative .....	..	..	..	..	..	8	8
Total.....	48	59	66	61	70	61	365

The figures show a great lack of variety of style: Declarative and Relative are the two great classes, the Negative sentences being distributed between them, while the Imperative and Cohortative sentences occur each in a mass in the fifth and sixth columns. No Prohibitive or Interrogative sentences were found, nor any conditional Clauses.

More interesting is the tabulation of the order of Subject, Object, and Predicate, in the 294 cases of Declarative sentences.

TABLE II.

ORDER OF DECLAR. SENTENCES.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Predicate (incomplete) .. . . .	5	9	6	7	14	2	43
Object, Predicate.....	32	32	30	30	27	24	175
Predicate, Object.....	8	11	7	12	10	6	54
Subject, Predicate.....	4	3	4	9	12	6	38
Predicate, Subject.....	..	2	1	2	3	3	11
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Subject, Object, Predicate .....	1	2	1	5	5	2	16
Subject, Predicate, Object .....	2	..	..	..	2	..	4
Object, Subject, Predicate .....	..	1	..	..	..	1	2
Object, Predicate, Subject .....	1	1	..	..	1	..	3
Predicate, Object, Subject .....	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Object, Predicate, Object .....	1	1	..	..	2	..	4
Object, Object, Predicate .....	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total Declarative Sentences.	42	53	52	53	56	38	294

A consideration of these results shows the force of the rule already established, that the normal order in Assyrian is Subject, Object, Predicate, or in general, that the Predicate should come last. This order is preserved 228 times. Delitzsch regards the transposed order as an indicative of emphasis laid upon the parts transposed. But the total number of inverted order, some eighty cases seems much larger than could be accounted for by emphasis alone, in a style so uniform as in this inscription. I think that the other principles can be deduced which will account for a large number of cases of inversion where it is hard to see any special reason for emphasis. We are familiar with the stereotyped formula used to describe the destruction wrought by the invading monarch: *Mahazanišu almi akšud, abbul, akkur, ina išati akmu, ušemi karmiš*.

It illustrates excellently the Assyrian fondness for grouping together a number of verbs. This predilection will, I believe, account for the majority of the cases of inverted order in short clauses, and for many in long sentences. When two short sentences are thrown together the tendency seems to be to follow the chiasmic order, bringing the two verbs together in the middle. I may quote one or two examples:

I. 27, 27. *Ana ekallišu ša kirib Babili ḥadiš erumma, aptema bīt niširtišu.*

VI. 33. *Išdaša irmâ, ikupa rišâša.*



I have counted some eighteen cases of the pure chiastic order [I. 26-27; II. 29, 43-44, 57, 64, 68, 77, 79, 83; III. 26, 47-48, 48-49; IV. 14-15, 42, 47; V. 49; VI. 33, 49-50], and the list might be greatly increased by counting in incomplete sentences, cases of adverbial inversion, etc.

Again it appears to be a habit of the historian to make use of the inverted order in closing a period. Where a paragraph ends, after the same thought has been carried on through a number of clauses, the closing sentence very frequently has its subject or object, or some adverbial phrase after the verb. I have noted about twenty-four examples of this [I. 18, 61, 62; II. 8, 18, 29, 46, 57, 64, 83; III. 11, 29, 41, 50, 65; IV. 11, 32, 42, 79; V. 49, 69; VI. 24, 41, 73], and more might be made by reducing the length of the paragraph. This rule is not so universal as the one previously discussed, but is often found operating in conjunction with it. The two principles together account for very many of the cases of transposition in this inscription, and relieve us from the necessity of searching for the emphasis in every case of inversion.

The normal position of the adjective is, of course, following the noun, as in Hebrew. The few exceptions to this rule found in the inscription seem to be for the sake of emphasis. Adverbs and prepositional phrases regularly precede the verb, very often coming at the head of the sentence. Contradictions of this order can be explained by the principles above applied to transpositions of Subject, Object, and Predicate. Where the style is picturesque and rapid, almost poetical, as in the fifth column, exceptions to the normal are very frequent. The more perhaps, because adverbs are not so much used in plain prose as in a more exalted style.

Several interesting cases of a double object occur, showing that the verb in such a case usually finds its place between the two.

#### THE RELATIVE SENTENCE.

Here the order is very much more limited by the nature of the sentence, which obliges the subject or the object to stand first, except in the case of a conjunctive relative clause. The regular position of the verb, however, is still last, and the exceptions are comparatively few, and easily explained by principles already stated. For table III. see the following page.

In regard to the use of a final vowel with the verb of a relative sentence, Delitzsch's rule is that the present, preterite, and permansive, (except the third Fem. Sing.) must assume a vowel, usually *u*, though many examples of *a* are also found. A comparison of all the relative sentences in this inscription shows that the rule holds in every case. See table IV.

There are fifty-one examples of attributive relative clauses, while eight are conjunctive. See table V. The latter are introduced by *mala* [I. 10], *ašar* twice [III. 76-77; V. 24], *arki* [V. 5], *ki* [V. 15], *ultu* [VI. 2527], and *inuma*

[VI. 56-57]. Three cases occur where the verb of the relative sentence is lacking [I. 26; III. 19; IV. 73].

TABLE III.

ORDER OF RELATIVE SENTENCES.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Subject { Predicate.....	4	3	9	3	3	10	32
Object { Predicate.....	..	..	1	..	1	1	3
Predicate, Object .....	..	..	1	..	1	1	3
Subject { Object { Predicate...	1	1	2	4	2	1	11
Object { Subject { Predicate...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Subject { ..Predicate, { Subject.	..	1	..	..	3	1	5
Object { ..Predicate, { Object.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Object, Predicate, Object.....	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Subject { (Verb omitted) .....	1	..	1	1	..	..	3
Object { (Verb omitted) .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Predicate (incomplete).....	..	1	..	..	1	2	4
Total Relative Sentences...	6	6	14	8	10	15	59

TABLE IV.

VERBS ENDINGS IN REL. SENTENCES.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Ending in <i>u</i> .....	5	6	10	7	7	12	47
“ “ <i>a</i> .....	..	..	2	..	2	4	8
“ “ <i>i</i> .....	..	..	..	..	1(?)	..	1
No endings.....	..	..	1	..	..	2	3
Total.....	5	6	13	7	10	18	59

TABLE V.

KINDS OF RELATIVE SENTENCES.	I.	II.	III.	VI.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Attributive.....	5	6	13	8	8	11	51
Conjunctive .....	1	..	1	..	2	4	8
Total.....	6	6	14	8	10	15	59

## NEGATIVE SENTENCES.

Delitzsch suggests as a working hypothesis that of the two negative particles *u1* and *la* may be employed in both principal clauses, while *la* may be employed in both principal and subordinate sentences [p. 352]. What light is shed on this

TABLE VI.

USE OF NEGATIVES.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Ul.....	..	1	1	..	2	1	6
La .....	2	2	3	3	2	1	13
Total.....	2	3	4	3	4	2	18

question by this inscription? We find a total of eighteen negative sentences of which five, all principal clauses, contain ul, thirteen use la, eleven of which are subordinate.

So the rule seems to hold good. But the large proportion of subordinate clauses in which la is used suggests the question whether its use cannot be confined to subordinate constructions. We have only two examples to the contrary in the inscription.

IV. 30. Uniši ša šar Elamtum ašlulamma, lâ eziba multahtu.

VI. 32. Tamluša ul ibši; šubatsa sūḫḫuratma lâ nukulat epištaš.

Is it possible that these could be translated so as to give the idea of result? If so we would have no use of lâ in a principal clause in this inscription. If not we must fall back upon Delitzsch's rule.

#### COHORTATIVE AND IMPERATIVE SENTENCES.

Both of these groups of sentences occur in direct quotations. The Imperative sentences, four in number, are all together in the fifth column [ll. 23-24] and are not in any way remarkable except for a sort of parallelism, by which in the first two the verb comes first, but last in the two with an emphatic -ma. The eight Cohortative sentences are found in a body at the end of the sixth column. They are perfectly regular, and easily distinguished by the particle lu, which unites with the verb in each case.

In regard to the connection of sentences, I have given attention not so much to the tenses of the verbs as to the use of the conjunctions u and -ma. The following table shows their relative frequency:

TABLE VII.

CONNECTION OF SENTENCES.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	TOTAL.
Connected by -ma .....	14	22	27	22	18	11	114
“ “ u .....	2	1	1	1	1	3	9
Unconnected .....	25	35	27	33	41	36	197
Cases of -ma emphatic.....	1	..	..	1	2	2	6
Total .....	42	58	55	57	62	52	326



The sparing use of *u* (only nine times as compared with *-ma* 114 times) is surprising. We find it, of course, much more frequently connecting nouns or adjectives. I have not been able to discover any reason for the choice of *u* in these cases [I. 16, 74; II. 58; III. 11; IV. 17; V. 72; VI. 11, 45, 62], but I do not think they all accord with Delitzsch's rule that *u* is the most usual copula, that it is used in joining together sentences that have otherwise no intimate connection [p. 229-230]. A question as to the use of *ma*: how often has it an emphatic, how often a conjunctive force? This is frequently difficult to determine. The large number of sentences without conjunctions (197 out of 365) would seem to show that a close connection by means of particles, such as is found, for instance, in Greek, was not considered necessary, and therefore we may often feel free to deny the conjunctive force in favor of the emphasis. Especially is this true in a series of clauses closely connected logically, with only one or two of which *ma* is used. From the nature of the case examples are rare where the emphatic force alone can be admitted. Six such, however, occur in this inscription [I. 27; IV. 69; V. 4, 24; VI. 11, 36], and there are many probable examples of the emphatic use. The conjunctive use seems very closely united with the logical sequence of the sentence, and it is possible in many cases to mark off the paragraphs of a passage by observing the use of *-ma*. A general rule, then, drawn from cases examined in this inscription would be that *-ma* as a conjunction is used in short verbal sentences, or where the logical connection is close. Its occurrence elsewhere is generally to be regarded as emphatic.

I had hoped to obtain some material bearing on circumstantial clauses, but so few cases occurred in this inscription that no basis was afforded for discussion.

## יְהוָה AND ה'.

BY ARNOLD B. EHRLICH,

New York City.

To the many mistranslated passages of the Old Testament belongs the frequently occurring oath **יְהוָה ה'**, which is generally rendered "as the Lord liveth."

To this translation there are the following objections: (1) Why is it that only God and no mortal swears by his own life (**ה' אֲנִי**)?

(2) Why is it invariably **יְהוָה ה'**, but **ה' נַפְשִׁךְ**, even when, as 1 Sam. xx. 3; xxv. 26; 2 Sam. xi. 11, and 2 Kgs. ii. 2, both phrases are mentioned in one breath?

(3) **ה'** can be a noun only, while **ה'** in **יְהוָה ה'** may be either a noun or a verb. There is, however, in either phrase absolutely nothing to suggest the idea of a comparison between the truth that the Lord or the dear person sworn by is living, and the truth of the statement to be affirmed by the oath.

(4) Admitting the usual translation of **יְהוָה ה'** to be correct, the name of the Lord is indeed taken in vain in such a formula. For, as these words mean no more than swearing by the truth of a fact, one might as well swear by the life of a worm that happens to creep at his feet; or, for any force added by the fact of life, one might just as well swear by a stick, pointing to it and saying, as that is a stick.

(5) Swearing by the truth of what is, or commonly is believed to be a fact, is something modern. Excepting the one instance in Homer, Il., I., 234, the ancients, so far as I know, did not swear in this way.\* The orientals certainly did not. With the ancient Greeks as well as with orientals the oath itself is always omitted, only what the Arabs call the **مقسم به**, that is the deity or the dear person or thing by which the oath is sworn, being mentioned.

Such are the difficulties which arise from the usual rendering of the words in question. These difficulties might be easily doubled. However, what has been said here will be sufficient to suggest the idea that in **יְהוָה ה'** and its kindred

---

\* Even this instance is only a seeming exception. For, as **τὸδε σκῆπτρον** is found in the accusative case depending on the particle **μά**, what is sworn by is, not that which is stated of the scepter, but the scepter itself.

expressions **חִי נַפְשְׁךָ** and **חִי פִרְעָה** we have, not an oath in full, but only the **חִי** in the accusative case.\*

But then **חִי** can only be a noun, not a verb., and that noun is found in **חִי יְהוָה** in the absolute state, with the name of the Lord in opposition to it, while in **חִי נַפְשְׁךָ** and **חִי פִרְעָה** it is in the construct state.

In Arabic **حَيَّ** means a person, and like its English equivalent, is, particularly in writings of an earlier period, not infrequently used pleonastically so that it adds nothing to the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs.† In the Hebrew oath **חִי** has the same meaning and is used in like manner. **חִי יְהוָה** then means "by the person Yahweh," or "by the person that is Yahweh," i. e., by the person of Yahweh or simply by Yahweh. **חִי יְהוָה** is the older formula, hence its rougher construction, while in the later and polite phrases **חִי נַפְשְׁךָ** and **חִי פִרְעָה** the smoother construction with the appositive genitive is used.

This explains at once all difficulties, and now we also understand why no mortal swears by himself. For, as the oath is not to be sworn by the mere truth of a fact, but by some dear person, it may be proper to swear by the king even in his absence or, by way of politeness, by the person addressed, but common decency forbids to swear by one's self.‡

The formula of the oath is not the only instance in the Old Testament where **חִי** occurs in that meaning and is so pleonastically used. The word is used in the same manner, Lev. xxv. 36. To prove this, it is necessary to shed light on that whole passage, beginning with v. 35.

\* The Greeks prefixed *μá* to the noun expressive of the **مقسم به**. The Arabs, too, have their **واو القسم**. The Hebrews, as far as can be seen from the Talmud, used no particle in such instances. Compare the Talmudic expressions **מִשֶּׁה** by Moses, **הַמִּזְבֵּחַ** by that temple, **הַמִּזְבֵּחַ** by the temple service. The noun, so absolutely used, must, of course, be conceived to be in the accusative case.

وَحَكَمُوا هَذَا حَيَّ زَيْدٍ وَاتَيْتَكَ وَحَيَّ فُلَانٍ فَأَرِمَ وَحَيَّ فُلَانَةَ شَاهِدٌ  
وَأَنشَدُوا يَا قُرَّ إِنَّ أَبَاكَ حَيَّ خُوَيْلِدٍ . . . . . وَعَنْ الْأَخْفَشِ أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ  
أَعْرَابِيًّا يَقُولُ فِي أَبْيَاتٍ قَالَهُنَّ حَيَّ رَبَّاحٍ بِإِقْحَامٍ حَيَّ وَالْمَعْنَى هَذَا  
زَيْدٌ وَإِنَّ أَبَاكَ خُوَيْلِدٌ وَقَالَهُنَّ رَبَّاحٌ Zamachshari, Mufasssal, Fasli, 123.

‡ Outside of the Bible, I mean in the Talmud and Midrash, even God never swears by himself, but by the person he addresses. Indeed, swearing by one's self was not considered an oath, but, at most, a vow. This appears from the Mishna, Synhedrin, III., 2. In that passage the Mishna discusses the question, whether the plaintiff who, having a higher claim, has, by way of concession, declared himself satisfied with less than he has a right to exact, can retract or not. In the illustration is mentioned the following case: **הָיָה חַיִּב לְחִבְרוֹ שְׁבוּעָה וְאָמַר לוֹ דָּר** if one owes his neighbor an oath, and his neighbor says to him, Make but a vow, by the life of thine own head. From this it is clear that swearing by one's own head was not considered an oath.



The two verses read in the original: וְכִי יִמּוֹךְ אֶחָיִךְ וּמָטָה יָדוֹ עִמָּךְ וְהִחֲזַקְתָּ בּוֹ גֵר וְתוֹשֵׁב וְחִי עִמָּךְ : אֶל-תִּקַּח מֵאִתּוֹ נֶשֶׁךְ וְתִרְבִּית וִירָאָה מֵאֵלֶיךָ וְחִי אִתְּךָ עִמָּךְ, and are rendered: "If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt *relieve* him; yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner, that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him, or increase, but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee."

This is indeed a sad mistranslation, which needs only to be placed by the side of the original, to show the stamp of error. It is owing to two syntactical misconstructions and a misunderstanding of the expressions גֵר וְתוֹשֵׁב, וְהִחֲזַקְתָּ, בּוֹ וְחִי. For וְהִחֲזַקְתָּ בּוֹ is here a legal term with about the same sense as the talmudical הִחֲזִיק, which means to have a חֲזָקָה or a strong claim upon another man's property. גֵר וְתוֹשֵׁב is in the Old Testament invariably a hendiadys denoting a "settled" stranger, in distinction from גֵר a "transient stranger." Indeed, גֵר וְתוֹשֵׁב is the same as תוֹשֵׁב, and גֵר תוֹשֵׁב, which latter expression, being the exclusive one in the Talmud to denote the relation of the settled stranger, occurs in the same sense also Lev. xxv. 47. But in this particular instance גֵר וְתוֹשֵׁב does not designate a foreigner (for such a one would not be called אֶחָיִךְ, and of him the taking of usury was, according to Deut. xxiii. 21, allowed, if not commanded), but a Hebrew who has mortgaged his estate so heavily that the tent he lives in is practically not his own.† וְחִי is, as has already been said, the construct state of חִי in the meaning of person. As to the syntactical construction, the apodosis does not begin with וְהִחֲזַקְתָּ בּוֹ, but verse 36, and the final words וְחִי אִתְּךָ עִמָּךְ form a circumstantial clause (חֵלֶל).

The correct translation, then, is: If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, and thou become master of him, so that his relation to thee be that of a גֵר תוֹשֵׁב,‡ and he live depending upon thee, take thou no usury of him, or increase; but fear thy God when (the person of) thy brother is dependent upon thee.

\* The difference of meaning between the prepositions אֶת and עִם is this: The former expresses no more than a being together with, while the latter denotes a more or less close relation. Compare Num. xii. 12 and 20, where the prohibition reads אֶל תִּלְךָ עִמָּהֶם, but the permission לֶךְ אִתָּם, which means to say, go with them, but keep thine own mind, and make no common cause with them.

† Cf. also Lev. xxv. 23, where in connection with the prohibition to sell the land for ever, God says to his people לִי הָאָרֶץ כִּי גֵרִים וְתוֹשְׁבִים אַתֶּם עִמָּדִי, mine is the land; for your relation to me is that of גֵרִים וְתוֹשְׁבִים. This expression, though figurative, shows plainly that a native could, under circumstances, be reduced to the condition of a גֵר תוֹשֵׁב.

‡ גֵר means to be a stranger, גָּרַע to do wrong, and רָעַע to commit adultery. The original meaning of the root is to turn aside from the right path, hence to do wrong. But the right way from any place is the way home, and he who enters another man's tent turns aside. Hence come the Hebrew and Syriac meanings of the root.

§ The data in the Old Testament being insufficient and the Talmud discussing only the religious side of the question, it is impossible at this distance of time and place, to fix the civil relations of the גֵר תוֹשֵׁב.

## "BLESSED BE ABRAM OF THE MOST HIGH GOD."

BY REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, M. A.,

Queen's College, Oxford, England.

Egypt is the "happy hunting-ground" of the archæologist and explorer. In a country where frost and rain are almost unknown, and the friendly sand covers the deserted monuments of the past, nothing perishes except by the hand of men. The slightest scrawl made on the rock by the point of a knife will last for ages, and the painted inscription will bear the assaults of the atmosphere from one century to another. Old texts and records reveal themselves in places likely and unlikely; the peasant will disinter the fragile fragments from the heart of decaying mounds and the traveler will find the cliffs of some wild and unsuitable region covered with inscriptions in languages and alphabets of the most diverse kind.

The ordinary visitor to the Nile has little idea how much in the way of archæological relics still remains to be discovered even above ground. After repeated visits to Upper Egypt, I am inclined to believe that not more than two-thirds are as yet known. There are certain parts of the valley of the Nile where it is still difficult to take an extended walk without coming across inscriptions, tombs, or similar monuments which no European has previously seen. Last winter I discovered a number of Phœnician, or rather Aramæan inscriptions on some rocks on the western bank of the Nile, a little to the south of the village of Hoshân, and about four miles to the north of the quarries of Silsilis. Two of them had already been discovered and copied, though not quite correctly, by that most indefatigable of explorers, Mr. Flinders Petrie; but he had not noticed the rest. They all occur close together, at the northern entrance to a *wadi* or valley which runs into the Libyan desert. They are interspersed among a large quantity of Greek inscriptions which show that the place where they are found was a sacred resort of pilgrims.

The inscriptions are in the Aramæan form of the Phœnician alphabet, and probably belong to the age of Jeremiah. At all events the forms of the letters are older than those of the Phœnician inscriptions at Abu-Simbel, the date of which is B. C. 500, and approach somewhat closely to the forms presented by the letters of the Aramaic "dockets" attached to Assyrian contract-deeds of the time of Assurbanipal. One of the inscriptions, according to M. de Vogué, contains the Aramaic participial form ברכא, with the suffixed "emphatic Aleph," and

though I should myself propose a different reading, it is possible that he may be right.

The chief interest of the inscriptions lies in the formula adopted by their writers. Thus we have **בִּרְךְ אֲבַדְנֵבּוֹ לַחֲנַם** "blessed be Abadnebo of Khnum," an Egyptian deity, whose name now appears for the first time written in Phœnician characters; **יִרְךְ עֶזְרִיבַּד־שֹׁגְבִי לַחֲר**, "blessed be Ezer-yobad the Shagbite of Horus;" **בִּרְךְ אֲהַגָּה לַאֲסִי**, "blessed be Ahgah (or, according to M. de Vogué, Hagah) of Isis."

This formula has never been met with before in any Phœnician or Aramaic inscriptions. Later Aramaic texts, found in Egypt, it is true, sometimes commence with the word **בִּרְךְ** "blessed," but the curious addition of the name of a god preceded by the preposition **ל-**, is hitherto unexampled. The formula, however, occurs in the Old Testament. One of the best known instances of it is in Gen. xiv. 18, **בִּרְךְ אֲבִרָם לֵאלֹהֵי עֵלְיוֹן**, "blessed be Abram of the most high God." Elsewhere it is the name of Yahweh which is combined with the word of blessing.

It seems to follow that the phrase was an essentially Jewish or Hebraistic one, and that its occurrence in the inscriptions I have copied must be due to Jewish influence. We can scarcely believe that any Jews—even the companions of Jeremiah who regretted the days when they burnt incense to the queen of heaven—would have devoted themselves to such purely Egyptian deities as Isis, Horus and Khnum. But they may easily have influenced those of their Semitic kinsfolk who like themselves dwelt in the foreign land of Egypt and spoke a language which was practically the same as Hebrew. In such a matter a Hebrew expression might without difficulty have been borrowed by the Aramæan voyagers to Upper Egypt.

In any case the newly-found inscriptions are not only a witness to the antiquity of the expression, but further throw light on its use and signification. When Melchizedek met Abram with the greeting "blessed be Abram of the most high God," it meant that the patriarch was thereby placed under the official protection of the deity whose territory as it were he had just entered. As the Aramæan travelers in Upper Egypt devoted themselves to the native divinities which were worshipped there, so too was Abram devoted by the king of Salem to the God of whom he was priest. The god of Salem or Jerusalem, in fact, was El Elyôn, "the most high God." In two of the inscriptions I have found, the words are divided from one another by points, as on the Moabite Stone and in the inscriptions of Siloam and of Panammu, the king of Samahla. The names of the writers are also deserving of notice. One of them is Gamlan, with the same termination as that which meets us in the names of so many of the Horites mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. Another is compounded with the name of the Babylonian god Nebo,



from whom the mountains of Moab on which Moses died received its designation. Another which may possibly be corrected into Azar-yobab, was the name of traveller who describes himself as a "Shagbite." If only we knew where Shagab was, we should be able to determine the locality from which the writers of the inscriptions came. Segub, it may be observed, is connected with the land of Gilead in 1 Chron. II. 21, 22, and Segub and Shagab may be the same word.

Wherever they came from, however, the writers of the inscriptions may be regarded as having been contemporaries of Jeremiah. That at least is the testimony borne by the forms of the letters of which the inscriptions are composed. Now it is curious that another inscription which belongs to the same age and contains the name of Jeremiah was brought to light in Egypt the winter before last. It is engraved on a seal which was discovered by some natives in Lower Egypt, probably among the rubbish-heaps of Tel Deferneh, the Tahpanhes of the Old Testament, and it was purchased at Cairo by the Russian Egyptologist, M. Golénischeff. The letters of the inscription, though belonging to the Phœnician alphabet, do not belong to the Aramæan, but to the Hebrew, branch of it, and resemble those of the Siloam text. In the middle of the seal are two blundered Egyptian cartouches, like the blundered attempts to imitate Egyptian hieroglyphics so often met with on Phœnician works of art. Above them is written **לְשֵׁלֶם**, below them **יִרְמְיָהוּ**, the whole reading "for the place of Jeremiah." Is it possible that we have here the veritable seal of the great Hebrew prophet?"

## CONTENTS OF JOURNALS.

---

### *Journal of Biblical Literature* (Vol. IX., 1890, Part 1).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>TOY, CRAWFORD H., Evil Spirits in the Bible, 17-30.</p> <p>BROWN, FRANCIS, Thé Measurements of Hebrew Poetry as an aid to Literary Analysis, 71-106.</p> <p>SMITH, HENRY PRESERVED, Prof. Workman on the Variations between the Hebrew and Greek Jeremiah, 107-117.</p> | <p>BROWN, CHARLES RUFUS, Exegesis of Isaiah, VII. 10-17, 118-127.</p> <p>BROWN, FRANCIS, The Date of Isaiah, XII., 128-131.</p> <p>MITCHELL, HINCKLEY G., The Prose Accents, 132-135.</p> |
|--|---|
- 

### *Trübner's Record* (No. 29).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>CASARTELLI, L. C., The Temptation of Zoroaster, 1.</p> <p>EUTING, J., Sculptures et Inscriptions de Palmyre à la Glyptothèque de Ny Carlsberg décrites et expliquées par D. Simonsen, Rabbin, 12.</p> | <p>Critique of S. C. Malan's Original Notes on the Book of Proverbs, 17.</p> <p>Critique of Belot's Dictionnaire Français-Arabe, 17.</p> <p>Critique of Nestle's De Sancta Cruce. Ein Beitrag zur Christlichen Legendengeschichte, 18.</p> |
|--|--|
- 

### *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Band 44, Heft I.).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>RÜCKERT, FRIEDRICH, Aus Dschâmîs Liebesliedern, 95-141.</p> <p>WILHELM, EUGEN, Priester und Ketzler im alten Erân, 142-153.</p> <p>WOLFF, M., Ein Wort über Religion und Philosophie nach Auffassung Sa'adjâ al Fajjûmîs, 154-164.</p> <p>GOLDZIHNER, IGN., Das Schiff der Wüste, 165-167.</p> <p>— Die Bekenntnissformeln der Almohaden, 168-171.</p> | <p>WELLHAUSEN, J., Zu E. Glaser's "Skizze," 172, 173.</p> <p>Anzeigen: Eduard Glaser's Skizze der Geschichte Arabiens von der ältesten Zeiten bis zum Propheten Muhammad, und Fritz Hommel über Eduard Glaser's historische Ergebnisse aus seinen süd-arabischen Inschriften, angezeigt von J. H. Mordtmann. Bezold's Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection in the British Museum, angezeigt von Rudolph Brünnow, 173-200.</p> |
|---|---|
- 

### *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Band V., Heft 1).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>ZIMMER, H., Das Verhältnis des assyrischen Permansivs zum semitischen Perfect und zum ägyptischen "Pseudo-particip" untersucht unter Benützung der El-Amarna Texte, 1-22.</p> | <p>FEUCHTWANG, D., Studien zum babylonischen Rechtswesen, 23-30.</p> <p>JASTROW, M., JR., Assyrian Vocabularies, 31-46.</p> <p>MAHLER, E., Die Jahrrechnungen bei den Assyriern, 47-54.</p> |
|--|---|

BRÜNNOW, R. E., Assyrian Hymns, 55-80.

LEHMANN, C. F., Zu Nabonid's Bericht über die Besiegung des Astyages durch Kyros, 81-84.

ZIMMERN, H., Šum-mu-u, šu-u-u =  $\text{𒍪𒍪}$ ,  $\text{سوم}$ , 85-89.

FEUCHTWANG, D., Lexicalisches zur Prisma-Inschrift Tiglath-pileser's I. (I R. 9-16), 90-94.

JENSEN, P., Bemerkungen zur Assyrischen Grammatik von Fr. Delitzsch, 95-105.

—— Ein Ehrenrettung des Sb, 105, 106.

OPPERT, J., Brief an C. Bezold, 106-107.

BEZOLD, C., Nachtrag, 108-113.

ZIMMERN, H., Critique of Jensen's Kosmologie der Babylonier, 114-120.

JENSEN, P., Critique of Epping's Astronomisches aus Babylon, etc., 121-133.

*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (Vol. XII., 6 and 7).

DE CABA, C., Letter. The Hittites, 289-291.

SCHWAB, M., Les Coupes magiques et l'hydromancie dans l'antiquité orientale, 292-342.

RENOUF, P. LE P., The Names of Isis and Osiris, 343-346.

—— Neith of Sais, 347-352.

—— The Priestly Character of the Earliest Civilization, 355-362.

—— Seb or Leb; Sechet and Sechemt, 363-367.

PIEHL, KARL, Notes de Philologie Égyptienne, 368-380.



## ➤SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.◀

- ABBELOOS, T. B. Acta Mar Kardaghi, Assyriae praefecti, qui sub Sapore II. Martys occubuit. Syriace juxta manuscriptum Amidense una cum versione latina edidit J. B. A. Leipzig: *Brockhaus*.....M.3.
- Präparationen zu den kleinen Propheten. Heft 2: Der Prophet Micha u. Obadja. Berlin: *Mayer & Müller*, 1890. IV., pp. 36., 8vo.....M.80.
- BACHMANN, J. Präparationen zu den kleinen Propheten. Heft 3: Der Prophet Amos. Berlin: *Mayer & Müller*, 1890. IV., pp. 36, 8vo.....M.80.
- BAER. Liber Jeremiae. Textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit, etc., S. B. Praefatus est edendi operis adjutor. F. Delitzsch. Leipzig: *Tauchnitz*, .....M.1.50.
- BAETHGEN, F. Die syrische Handschrift Sachau 302, auf der kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin [Inhalt: 1. Aus Marcus Eremita; 2. Brief des Antonius; 3. Brief des Johannes von Theben; 4. Brief Jakob des Sehers; 5. Eine Homilie des Chrysostomus über die Busse; 6. Aus dem Traktat Ephraems gegen Bardesanes; 7. Verschiedene Schriften des Evagrius]. *Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch*, XI., 3, 1890.
- BEZOLD, C. Nachtrag. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- BOETTSCHE, E. Ein Hissarlik-Troja in Babylonien. *Corresp. Bl. d. Ges. f. Anthropologie*, XX., No. 6.
- BROWNE, EDWARD G. Critique of Ethé's Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. *Academy*, No. 938.
- BROWN, CHARLES RUFUS. Exegesis of Isaiah VII. 10-17. *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, IX., 1890. Part I.
- BROWN, FRANCIS. The Date of Isaiah XII. *Ibid.*
- The Measurements of Hebrew Poetry as an Aid to Literary Analysis. *Ibid.*
- BRÜNNOW, R. E. Assyrian Hymns. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- Critique of Bezold's Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection in the British Museum. *ZDMG.*, 44, 1.
- BUDDE, K. Critique of Gilbert's Poetry of Job. *Theo. Litztng.* XV., No. 8.
- Critique of Jensen's die Kosmologie der Babylonier. *Theo. Litztng.*, No. 7.
- DE CARA, C. Letter. The Hittites. *PSBA.*, XII., 6.
- CAVE, A. The Old Testament and the Critics. *The Contemporary Review*, Apr., 1890.

- DALMAN, G. F. Jesaja 53, das Prophetenwort vom Sühnleiden d. Heilsmittlers, m. besond. Berücksicht. der synagogalen Litteratur erörtert. (Schriften d. *Institutum Judaicum* zu Leipzig, Nr. 25).
- DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH. Assyrisches Wörterbuch zur gesamten bisher veröffentlichten Keilschriftliteratur. 3 Lieferung. Leipzig: *Henrichs*. . . . . M. 30.
- DIETERICI, F. Alfârâbî's philosophische Abhandlungen aus Londoner, Leidener u. Berliner Handschriften. Leiden: *Brill* . . . . . M. 5.
- EBERS, G. Critique of Erman's die Sprache des Papyrus Westcar. *Lit. Centblt.*, 1890. No. 22.
- ERMAN, ADOLPH. Die Sprache des Papyrus Westcar. Eine Vorarbeit zur Grammatik der älteren ägyptischen Sprache.
- FEUCHTWANG, D. Studien zum babylonischen Rechtswesen. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- Lexicalisches zur Prisma-Inschrift Tiglath-pileser's I. (I R. 9-16). *ZA.*, V. 1.
- FORBES, J. The Servant of the Lord in Isaiah XL.-LXVI., reclaimed to Isaiah as the author, from argument, structure and date. Edinburgh: *Clark*, 1890. 270 pp., 8vo. . . . . 5s.
- GOLDZIEHER, IGN. Das Schiff der Wüste. *ZDMG.*, 44, 1.
- Die Bekenntnissformeln der Almohaden, 168-171. *ZDMG.*, 44, 1.
- GRILL, J. Zur Kritik der Komposition d. Buchs Hiob. Tübingen: *Fues*. M. 2.40.
- JASTROW, M., JR. Assyrian Vocabularies. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- JENSEN, P. Die Kosmologie der Babylonier. Studien und Materialien. Mit einem mythologischen Anhang und 3 Karten. 8vo.
- Bemerkungen zur Assyrischen Grammatik von Fr. Delitzsch. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- Ein Ehrenrettung des Sb. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- Critique of Epping's Astronomisches aus Babylon, etc. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- KONIGSBERGER, B. Die Quellen der Halachah, 1 Tl. Der Midrasch. Berlin: *Engel*. . . . . M. 2.50.
- LEHMANN, C. F. Zu Nabonid's Bericht über die Besiegung des Astyages durch Kyros. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- LEITNER, G. W. The International Congress of Orientalists. *Athenæum*. No. 3266.
- LOISY, A. Histoire du canon de l'Ancien Testament. Leçons d'Ecriture sainte professées à l'école supérieure de théologie de Paris pendant l'année 1889-1890. Tours: *impr. Mame*, 1890. 263 pp., 8vo.
- MAHLER, E. Die Jahrrechnungen bei den Assyriern. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- MITCHELL, HINCKLEY G. The Prose Accents. *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, IX., 1890. Pt. I.
- MORDTMANN, J. H. Critique of Eduard Glaser's Skizze der Geschichte Arabiens von der ältesten Zeiten bis Propheten Muhammad, und Fritz Hommel über Eduard Glaser's historische Ergebnisse aus seinen südarabischen Inschriften. *ZDMG.*, 44, 1.

- MOSES, A. Nadab u. Abihu od. der Untergang der Sauliden u. d. grössten Theils d. Stammes Benjamin. Berlin: *Mayer & Müller*, 1890. Pp. 39, 8vo .....M.60.
- MUELLER, F. MAX. The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists. *Athenæum*. No. 3265.
- OPPERT, J. Brief an C. Bezold. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- PETRIE, W. M. FLINDERS. Excavations in the Fayum. *Academy*. No. 938.
- Critique of Perrot and Chipiez's Art in Sardinia, Syria, Judæa and Asia Minor. *Ibid.* No. 943.
- PIEHL, KARL. Notes de Philologie Egyptienne. *Ibid.*, XII. 6.
- PINCHES, T. G. A late Babylonian Tablet of Aspasine. *Ibid.* No. 941.
- PRAETORIUS, F. Critique of Barth's die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen. I. Die Schlichten Nomina. *Deut. Litztng.*, 1890. No. 15.
- RENOUF, P. LE P. The Names of Isis and Osiris. *Ibid.*, XII., 6.
- Neith of Sais. *Ibid.*
- The Priestly Character of the earliest Egyptian Civilization. *Ibid.*, XII. 7.
- Seb or Leb; Sechet and Sechemet. *Ibid.*
- RHYS, J. The Oxford Invitation to the Oriental Congress. *Academy*. No. 930.
- RÜCKERT, FRIEDRICH. Aus Dschâmîs Liebesliedern. *ZDMG.*, 44, 1.
- RYSSEL, V. Zwei Vorlesungen über die hebräische Poesie. I. Die Naturbe-trachtung der hebräischen Poesie. *Theo. Ztschr. aus d. Schweiz*, 1890.
- SCHRADER, E. Critique of Bezold's Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum. *Lit. Centrblt*, 1890. No. 21.
- SCHUERER, E. Critique of Margoliouth's Essay on the place of Ecclesiasticus in Semitic literature. *Theo. Litztng.*, XV. No. 6.
- SCHWALLY, FR. Critique of Sellin's die verbalnominale Doppelnatur der hebrä-ischen Participien und Infinitive. *Ibid.* No. 7.
- SIEGFRIED, C. Critique of Strack's Schabbath, der Mischna tractat Sabbath hrsg. und erklärt. *Ibid.* No. 8.
- SAYCE, A. H. Letter from Egypt. *Academy*. Nos. 932, 934, 937.
- The Language of Aram-Naharaim and the 'Su of the Assyrian Tablets. *Ibid.* No. 939.
- The Oxford Invitation to the Oriental Congress. *Ibid.* No. 940.
- SCHWAB, M. Les Coupes magiques et l'hydromancie dans l'antiquité orientale. *Ibid.*, XII. 6.
- SMITH, HENRY PRESERVED. Prof. Workman on the Variations between the Hebrew and Greek Jeremiah. *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, IX., Part I.
- STEINTHAL. Die erzählenden Stücke im 5. Buch Mose [Fortsetzung], *Ztschr. f. Völkerpsychologie u. Sprachwissenschaft*, xx., 1. 1890.



- STRACK, H. Critique of Bacher's Aus der Schrifterklärung des Abul-walid Merwân ibn Ganâh (R. Jona). *Lit. Centrblt.*, 1890. No. 13.
- STRASSMAIER, J. N. Babylonische Texte. Heft VII. Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538-529 v. chr.) von den Thontafeln des britischen museums copirt und autographirt. Enthalten 384 Inschriften mit 5 Registern. Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1890. V. 26, 244., 8vo.
- TOY, CRAWFORD H. Evil Spirits in the Bible. *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, IX., 1890. Part I.
- VERNES, M. Les résultats de l'exégèse biblique. (L'Histoire; la religion; la littérature). Paris: lib. Leroux, 1890. VIII., pp. 235.
- WELLHAUSEN, J. Zu E. Glaser's "Skizze." *ZDMG.*, 44, 1.
- WILHELM, EUGEN. Priester und Ketzer im alten Erân. *ZDMG.*, 44, 1.
- WINCKLER, H. Critique of Bezold's Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum. *Deut. Litztng.*, 1890. No. 21.
- WOLFF, M. Eine Wort über Religion und Philosophie nach Auffassung Sa'adjâ al Fajjûmîs. *ZDMG.*, 44, 1.
- ZAHN, A. Die Entstehungszeit des Deuteronomiums *Lit. Beilage der Deutsch. Evang. Kirchtzgt.*, 1890.
- ZIMMER, H. Das Verhältniß des assyrischen Permansivs zum semitischen Perfect und zum ägyptischen "Pseudo-particip" untersucht unter Benützung der El-Amarna Texte. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- ZIMMERN, H. Šum-mu-u, šu-u-u = שׁוּם, שׁוּ. *ZA.*, V. 1.
- Critique of Jensen's Kosmologie der Babylonier. *ZA.*, V. 1.

## GENERAL INDEX.

---

Arsâniš, The Story of.....	81
Abstracts of Three Papers read before the Oriental Congress.....	151
Bibliography, Semitic.....	77, 158, 237, 317
“Blessed be Abram of the Most High God”.....	312
Book Notices: Brugsch, <i>Mythologie und Religion der alten Aegypter</i> , 61; Beiträge zur Assyriologie, 65; The Fables of Bidpai, 67; Peiser, <i>Contract Tablets</i> , 69; Kennedy, <i>Introduction to Biblical Hebrew</i> , 71; Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 73; The American Oriental Society, 74; The Esarhaddon Cylinders, 153; Green, <i>Hebrew Grammar</i> , 227; Workman, <i>Jeremiah</i> , 232; Sayce, <i>Records of the Past</i> , I. and II., 234.	
Bradner, Lester, Jr., <i>A Classification of Sentences in the Sennacherib (Taylor) Inscription</i> .....	303
Chwolson, Prof. D., <i>The Quiescents (or Vowel-Letters) ךּי in Ancient Hebrew Orthography</i> [translated by T. K. Abbott].....	89
<i>Classification of Sentences in the Sennacherib (Taylor) Inscription</i> , A. ....	303
<i>Contents of Journals</i> .....	85, 156, 236, 315
Delitzsch, Franz.....	240
Ehrlich, Arnold B., ךּי and ךּי.....	309
Glaser, Eduard, <i>Historical Results of his Explorations in South Arabia</i> ....	49
Green, Prof. William Henry, <i>The Pentateuchal Question. II. Gen. XII. 6-XXXVII. 1</i> .....	109, 161
ךּי and ךּי.....	309
Hall, Isaac H., <i>The Story of Arsâniš</i> .....	81
<i>Historical Results of Explorations in South Arabia</i> .....	49
Harper, Robert Francis, <i>The Kh. Collection of Babylonian Antiquities belonging to the University of Pennsylvania</i> .....	59
——— <i>The Destruction of Antiquities in the East</i> .....	225
Harper, Prof. W. R., <i>The Pentateuchal Question. III. Gen. XXXVII. 2-Ex. XII. 2. IV. Historical Matter of Ex. XIII.-Deut. XXXIV.</i> .....	1, 241
<i>Journals, Contents of</i> .....	75, 156, 236, 315



Kraetzschmar, Richard, Origin of the Notae Relationis in Hebrew.....	296
Niffer, An Early Babylonian Inscription from.....	55
Oriental Congress, Abstracts of Three Papers read before.....	151
Origin of the Notae Relationis in Hebrew.....	296
Particle אָ in Hebrew, The.....	139, 212
Pentateuchal Question, The.....	1, 109, 161, 241
Pinches, Theo. G., An Early Babylonian Inscription from Niffer.....	55
Quiescents (or Vowel-Letters) וְ in Ancient Hebrew Orthography, The...	89
Sayce, A. H., "Blessed be Abram of the Most High God.".....	312
Semitic Bibliography.....	77, 158, 237, 317
Thorbecke, Andreas Heinrich.....	240
Wilson, Alfred M., The Particle אָ in Hebrew.....	139, 212
Wright, Prof. W., A Notice concerning.....	155